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PLEASE NOTE: This work contains texts and images considered sacred by local communities. Please treat this volume respectfully in accordance with their wishes.

COVER: Woodblocks carved with scriptures line the walls of the Sde dge printing house, Sde dge County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, PR China (Photo by Tsemdo).

ABOUT ASIAN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVES

Asian Highlands Perspectives (AHP) is a trans-disciplinary journal focusing on the Tibetan Plateau and surrounding regions, including the Southeast Asian Massif, Himalayan Massif, the Extended Eastern Himalayas, the Mongolian Plateau, and other contiguous areas. The editors believe that cross-regional commonalities in history, culture, language, and socio-political context invite investigations of an interdisciplinary nature not served by current academic forums. AHP contributes to the regional research agendas of Sinologists, Tibetologists, Mongolists, and South and Southeast Asianists, while also forwarding theoretical discourse on grounded theory, interdisciplinary studies, and collaborative scholarship.

AHP publishes occasional monographs and essay collections both in hardcopy (ISSN 1835-7741) and online (ISSN 1925-6329). The online version is an open access source, freely available at: <http://tibetanplateau.wikischolars.columbia.edu/Asian+Highlands+Perspectives>. The print edition is available to libraries and individuals at-cost through print on demand publisher Lulu.com at <http://www.lulu.com/spotlight/AsianHighlandsPerspectives>. The journal currently has a core editorial team of five members and a consultative editorial board of twenty-five experts from a variety of disciplines. All submissions to the journal are peer-reviewed by the editorial board and independent, anonymous assessors.

AHP welcomes submissions from a wide range of scholars with an interest in the area. Given the dearth of current knowledge on this culturally complex area, we encourage submissions that contain descriptive accounts of local realities – especially by authors from communities in the Asian Highlands – as well as theory-oriented articles. We publish items of irregular format – long articles, short monographs, photo essays, fiction, auto-ethnography, etc. Authors receive a PDF version of their published work. Potential contributors are encouraged to consult previous issues.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Timothy Thurston

ARTICLES

- 1-33 THE CHANGING ROLES OF TIBETAN MOUNTAIN DEITIES IN
THE CONTEXT OF EMERGING ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES: DKAR PO
LHA BSHAM IN YUL SHUL
Tsering Bum

- 35-74 SOCIALIZING WITH GODS IN THE MONGGHUL BOG RITUAL
Limusishiden (Li Dechun) and Gerald Roche

- 75-126 MANUSCRIPTS, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND EPHEMERA OF THE
SILK ROUTE: ARTIFACTS OF EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY
LADAKHI TRADE BETWEEN CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA
Jacqueline H Fewkes and Abdul Nasir Khan

- 127-176 NAMUYI TIBETAN *p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴* RITUALS
AND ORAL CHANTS
Libu Lakhi (Li Jianfu)
33-70

- 177-231 A MDO TIBETAN NAMING PRACTICES AND NAME POPULARITY
Duojiezhaxi (Dorje Tashi, Rdo rje bkra shis) and CK Stuart
71-114

- 233-296 THE MOUNTAIN CHANGERS: LIFESTYLE MIGRATION IN
SOUTHWEST CHINA
Gary Sigley

FOLKLORE

- 299-351 An A mdo Tibetan Wedding Speech from Ne'u na Village
Timothy Thurston and Caixiangduojie

- 353-378 Oral Narratives from Bang smad: Deities, Demons, *Bla ma*,
and Leaders
Bkra shis bzang po

REVIEWS

- 381-394 *Mountains, Monasteries, and Mosques*
Reviewed by Bettina Zeisler
- 395-402 *The Social Life of Tibetan Biography*
Reviewed by Barbara Gerke
- 403-415 *China's Encounters on the South and
Southwest*
Reviewed by Francesca Fiaschetti
- 417-424 *Inner Asia, and the Spatial Politics of Empire: Archaeology,
Mobility, and Culture Contact*
Reviewed by Francesca Fiaschetti
- 425-430 *Pilgrim of the Clear Light*
Reviewed by M Alyson Prude
- 431-433 *At Home in the World*
Reviewed by Sienna Craig
- 435-446 *China From Empire to Nation-State*
Reviewed by Tristan G Brown
- 447-450 *In the Land of the Eastern Queendom: The Politics
of Gender and Ethnicity on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier*
Reviewed by Robert Entenmann
- 451-454 *The Emperor Far Away: Travels at the Edge of China*
Reviewed by Jonathan Z Ludwig
- 455-458 *India-China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the
Centre*
Reviewed by Jonathan Z Ludwig
- 459-464 *Ethnicity in China; A Critical Introduction*
Reviewed by Tricia Kehoe

- 465-471 *Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West
China*
Reviewed by Hilary Howes
- 473-478 *War Finance and Logistics in Late Imperial China*
Reviewed by Lei Duan
- 479-488 *Chieftains into Ancestors*
Reviewed by Magnus Fiskesjö
- 489-497 *The Origins of Religious Violence*
Reviewed by Nikolas Broy
- 499-506 *Eminent Buddhist Women*
Reviewed by Kali Cape
- 507-514 *The Brave New World of Ethnicity in Nepal*
Review by Andrew Nelson
- 515-518 *The Unbearable Dreamworld of Champa the Driver*
Reviewed by Christine Murphy
- 519-525 *Healing Traditions of the Northwestern Himalayas and
Being Human in a Buddhist World*
Reviewed by Enrico Beltramini
- 527-533 *Mapping Shangrila*
Reviewed by Katia Buffetrille
- 535-537 *Tibetan Folktales (World Folklore Series)*
Reviewed by Christine Murphy

EDITOR'S NOTE

In the fall of 2008, my adviser, Mark Bender, called me into his office. "Kevin Stuart is starting a journal," he said. "You should write to him and say you're willing to help in any way." It was never really a suggestion, and I did not take it as one. I am glad. It is no overstatement to suggest that it changed my life. I met students and scholars who would later become some of my best friends. I learned to appreciate the value of collaborative research, and new ways to engage in such collaborations.

Since I began working with the journal, *Asian Highlands Perspectives* has published forty volumes of collected essays and manuscript-length special issues. For seven years, we as an editorial staff have worked with authors to publish articles and manuscripts that push the bounds of "conventional scholarship" and build a multinational research community that speaks to the diversity of the Asian Highlands region, broadly construed. We have published articles of uncommon length, featuring plenty of images, and collaborative research efforts. We have published papers on small folk groups and languages, on literature, and emergent cultural practices. Their disciplinary orientations include folklore, history, anthropology, and linguistics.

In many ways, the present volume is representative of our work. Featuring six articles, four are the fruit of collaboration. It includes two collections of translated oral traditions, and twenty-one book reviews. The articles of Volume Forty examine populations from two different countries and several different ethnic groups. Tsering Bum's contribution, for example, analyzes the changing roles of mountain deities in a pastoral community in Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

Gerald Roche and Limusishiden, meanwhile, introduce the Monguor Bog ritual in context. Next, Jacqueline Fewkes and Abdul Nasir Khan look at moments of change in Ladakhi trend as evidenced through manuscripts and ephemera. Rdo rje bkra shis and CK Stuart then examine Tibetan naming practices in A mdo. In doing so, they provide only the second English-language study of Tibetan naming practices, and the first on naming in China. Next, Libu Lakhi

continues his efforts to document and preserve rapidly fading linguistic and cultural practices of the Namuyi Tibetans of Sichuan Province's Daliangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture. In the final article, Gary Sigley focuses not so much on a group or culture, as on the transcultural practice of "lifestyle migration" in southwestern China's Dali City.

The folklore section provides two sets of texts: the first a bilingual edition of a Tibetan wedding speech (placing Tibetan and English side-by-side). It is the product of several years of collaboration between myself and Dr. Caixiangduojie of Qinghai Normal University. The second folklore section is an intriguing collection of folktales, oral historical accounts, and personal experience narratives collected in Nyag rong by Bkra shis bzang po.

The twenty-one book reviews, meanwhile, introduce recent book-length publications on the Asian Highlands region.

Over these eight years, I have been proud of this association with *AHP*. It has grown from a publishing endeavor to a full-fledged community that crosses national, linguistic, and cultural borders. In recent years, *AHP* has also created the Asian Highlands Research Network (AH-RN) a moderated mailing list bringing like-minded scholars into contact. The list sends out regular roundups of Open Access publication journals, and provides access to "Pre-print Reviews" - book reviews from *AHP* contributors.

Our work has also centered on the work fostering cross-cultural scholarly communication. So far, however, the communication has largely been unidirectional, bringing the cultures of the Asian Highlands region to Western academics. It is hoped that future volumes of the journal - some of which are already underway - will begin to facilitate work in the other direction as well.

In recent years, concerns about the influence of for-profit publishers like Elsevier and about shrinking library budgets have grown. I believe that true, free, open access written, reviewed, and edited by volunteer academics is a remedy to the current publishing malaise and to producing novel, participatory ways of documenting, preserving, and disseminating human knowledge. In light of this, my hope is that you all will continue to support *Asian Highlands Perspectives* not only through reading, but through agreeing to peer

review articles, review books, and submit articles for consideration in this entirely volunteer enterprise.

Unfortunately, after eight years and forty volumes with the journal, I must leave the future of *Asian Highlands Perspectives* and these important projects to others. I am deeply grateful to Kevin Stuart, Gerald Roche, Tshe dbang rdo rje, and Rin chen rdo rje, all of the peer reviewers, and the many scholars who have submitted articles, literature, book reviews, and folklore for consideration.

Timothy Thurston
Managing Editor
Washington, DC

ARTICLES

THE CHANGING ROLES OF TIBETAN MOUNTAIN DEITIES IN
THE CONTEXT OF EMERGING ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES:
DKAR PO LHA BSHAM IN YUL SHUL

Tsering Bum (Shanshui Conservation Center)

ABSTRACT

Various roles of a mountain deity in the context of a Khams Tibetan herding community in western China are examined. The changes in the perceived roles of the local deity, Dkar po lha bsham, from warrior and Dharma protector to master and protector of the local environment has been facilitated by what locals perceive to be punishment for environmental destruction. Dkar po lha bsham's roles as warrior deity, Dharma protector, and master and protector of the local environment exist simultaneously. The emphasis on different roles shifts. Dkar po lha bsham is considered the protector of the local environment in times of great concern over ecological issues and discourse and, consequently, local community members have taken strong conservation initiatives in an attempt to restrain both locals and non-locals from mining and killing wildlife.

KEYWORDS

conservation, *gzhi bdag*, mining, wildlife, Yul shul (Yushu)

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND¹

I examine the roles of Dkar po lha bsham Deity in Gom ri (Gangri) Village, a Tibetan pastoral community in the Khams cultural region on the east-central Tibetan Plateau in western China.² The changes in the role of the local deity, Dkar po lha bsham, from warrior deity and Dharma protector to master and protector of the local environment has been facilitated by what locals perceive to be punishment for environmental degradation. Dkar po lha bsham's roles as Dharma protector and master and protector of the local environment exist simultaneously. Emphasis on certain roles occurs at different times to better interpret the changing socio-political and natural environment. The emphasis on Dkar po's role as master and protector of the local environment has encouraged local community members to begin strong conservation initiatives in an attempt to restrain both local and non-locals from mining and killing wildlife.

Gom ri is one of four³ *muyecun* 'administrative herding villages' in Hwa shul (Haxiu) Township, Yul shul City (Yushu), Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province (Qinghai). Yul shul Prefecture is an area of 267,000 square kilometers with a total population of 283,100 people (95.3 percent Tibetan).⁴ In terms of Tibetan dialects, Yul shul Prefecture is part of the Khams Tibetan region.⁵

¹ I thank Gom ri villagers for patiently replying to my endless inquiries, Shanshui Conservation Center and its patrons for making this research possible, and editors and reviewers of earlier drafts of this paper.

² Hwa shul (Haxiu) Township, Yul shul Municipality (Yushu), Yul shul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province.

³ The other three are G.yang thar (Yunta), Bskal nyi (Ganning), and Wa long (Walong).

⁴ Population statistics are from <http://www.qhys.gov.cn/zmys.html> [Qinghai sheng Yu shu zhou ren min zheng fu wang 青海省玉树州人民政府网] People's Government Website of Yul shul Prefecture, Qinghai Province, accessed 2 March 2014.

⁵ According to Lewis et al. (2013), Kham is also spoken in Chab mdo (Changdu) and Nag chu (Naqu) districts, the Tibet Autonomous; Dkar

Hwa shul Township has an area of 1,353 square kilometers, and is eighty-two kilometers west of Skye rgu (Jiegu), the Yul shul Prefecture seat. As of late 2012, local township government statistics indicated that the township had 1,309 households (4,840 people), all of whom are Tibetans.

This study was conducted in Gom ri Village, which has 269 households according to the official household registry, and a total of about 1,000 residents. However, according to local villagers, there are actually only about 150 households. Many villagers who are officially counted as being in separate households live in extended families in the same household. Since the late 1990s as part of the state's official poverty-alleviation program, a resettlement program has been in operation that encourages herders to abandon living in tents, move into houses, and lead sedentary lives. Sipeitao 'Four Allocations' was a policy initiated to encourage this by subsidizing housing for local herders, shelters for livestock, fences for enclosing grazing land, and fodder for livestock to enhance their survival during snowy winter periods (Foggin 2008:28, Ptackova 2011:2). The Four Allocations signaled the start of sedentary lives for Gom ri villagers. This movement was further promoted in the first decade of the twenty-first century when the Shengtai yimin 'ecological migration' policy was implemented.

The reason put forward for this project was that grassland degradation was the result of overgrazing. Herders were thus encouraged to reduce their livestock number or sell them, and move into towns. The state promised the herders annual payments – *shengtai buchang* 'eco-compensation'. This project resulted in about fifty Gom ri families selling their livestock and moving into resettlement houses at the Hwa shul Township seat, leaving only about one hundred families in Gom ri Village. The remaining villagers now herd between twenty to 200 yaks per family.

mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province; and in Bde chen (Diqing) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, as well as in north Myanmar.

Villagers annually receive eco-compensation from the government for having reduced the number of their livestock. The size of each family's grazing land determines the amount paid, and usually ranges from 3,000 to 5,000 *yuan* per person in a family. It has thus become a main cash source for villagers.

Caterpillar fungi, which has risen in value, is another important source of cash income in the Hwa shul area. As of 2013, the price of a single caterpillar fungus in Hwa shul ranged from forty to one hundred *yuan*, depending on size. Gom ri residents collect caterpillar fungi during the month-long collecting season from mid-May to mid-June. The village is also paid by outsiders to collect locally. For example, about 106 people came to Gom ri in 2013 and paid village leaders 5,000 *yuan* per collector. The resultant 530,000 *yuan* was divided and distributed equally among local families with larger families receiving more than smaller families. While yaks are raised for self-consumption, cash income is used to buy household utensils, wheat flour, rice, rapeseed oil, instant noodles, snacks, beverages, and so on; and pay for medical expenses, gas for motorbikes and cars, and children's educational expenses.

Geographically, Gom ri is divided into Gom ri khog 'Gom ri Valley' and Phyr mar gzhung 'Plain of Cheese and Butter'. As the terms suggest, Gom ri khog is a valley through which a river runs. Villagers live along the river and herd yaks on both sides of the valley. Phyr mar gzhung is a wide plain with Ser yu⁶ 'Yellow' Lake in the east and the village mountain deity, Dkar po lha bsham 'White Deity', at the south edge. People in the plain area live far apart. Access is limited because of poor to nonexistent roads. Phyr mar gzhung residents seldom gather other than for important work-related meetings such as receiving eco-compensation, horse race festivals, and such rituals as consecrating Dkar po lha bsham.

⁶ *Yu* is the term locals used, as well as how it is recorded in certain local texts, however, an interpretation could not be provided by the interviewees. They stated that the term *ser yu* - both words together - has the general meaning of 'yellow'.

Gom ri villagers consider mountain deities to be divine masters of their territories. Scholars such as Xie (2001:343) and Coggins and Gesang Zeren (2014:217) claim that beliefs and practices related to deities living in local territories predate the advent of Buddhism in Tibet.⁷ However, anthropologists such as Makley (2014: 231) state that mountain deities of Tibetan frontier regions are bound up with the expansion of Buddhist sectarian and monastic power from central Tibet to its frontiers.

Mountain deities, often tamed by Buddhist monks to become protectors of communities, are frequently referred to as *gzhi bdag* 'master of the territory'. Almost every Tibetan community has at least one mountain deity (Nyi ma rgyal mtshan 2013:21), who is related, or subservient to a more powerful mountain deity that holds jurisdiction over a larger region (Dge legs 2011:449).

Mountain deities have various roles. Buddhism emphasizes the role of *chos skyong* 'dharma protector' while lay Tibetans often use such terms as *dgra lha* 'enemy/ warrior deity', believing that the deity, when richly feasted, protects the villagers and helps them gain victory in battles (Nalanda Translation Committee 1998:402). They also have such roles as *gter srung* 'protector of local precious minerals' and *sems can gyi bdag po* 'master of all living things' (Tshe bhe 2012:27). The latter is usually shortened by Gom ri villagers to *bdag po*.

Ritual emphasis stresses these varying roles based on cultural, economic, and socio-political contexts in various regions during different temporal periods. In the case of Dkar po lha bsham in Gom ri Village, the emphasis on the deity's role changes from his historical position as warrior deity for village men to protector of minerals and master of living beings. These shifts are due to natural and man-made calamities the community has experienced historically, and recent discourses on environmental degradation and destruction to which community members are increasingly

⁷ By "Tibet," I refer to Goldstein's "ethnographic Tibet" (Goldstein 1994:76-77).

exposed. Drawing on the case of Dkar po lha bsham, I argue that the ritual emphasis on the symbolic roles of mountain deities shifts from one role to another based on socio-political, cultural, economic, and environmental conditions of the community in question during different temporal periods.

Figure 1. Hwa shul (Haxiu) Township (map by Liu Yanlin).

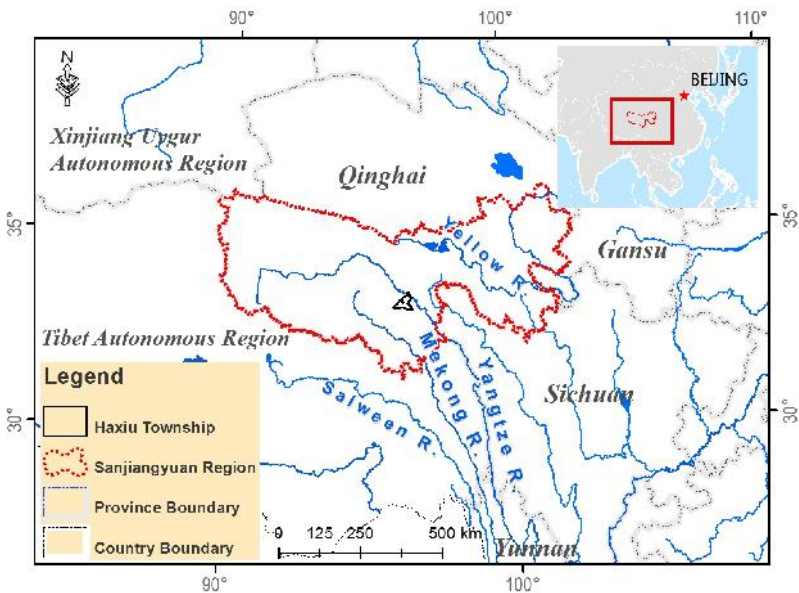


Figure 2. Dkar po lha bsham (Tsering Bum 2013)



DKAR PO LHA BSHAM: THE CASE OF GOM RI VILLAGE

Dkar po lha bsham, locally referred to as Dkar po, is a rocky mountain located at the southwest corner of Phyr mar gzhung. Dkar po presents a majestic visual spectacle, standing proudly with his peak in the clouds at the edge of the plain. When standing on the shoulder of Dkar po and looking down, asymmetrical lines of houses are scattered across Phyu mar gzhung, with Ser yu Lake resembling a giant mirror to the east.

According to Gom ri villagers and religious texts from Hwa shul Monastery, Dkar po is not local to Gom ri. Instead, he has an ambiguous "foreign" origin as shown in local accounts of how he came to reside in Gom ri that trace to Mount Kailash. Such accounts share similarities with origin tales of many mountain deities in Tibet – a smaller, less powerful mountain deity is linked to a bigger, more powerful one. This perspective anthropomorphizes Dkar po, and demonstrates that he was an uncontrolled evil deity before being subdued by a Buddhist who bound the deity to become a protector of Buddhist doctrine. 'Jam dga' (b. 1942), a local villager, suggested:

Mount Kailash sent his emissary to Khams. The emissary was Khu ga po, one of Kailash's ministers. Dkar po is one of Khu ga po's seven sons. The reason Dkar po came to Gom ri is Ser yu Lake, for there were seven *klu*-women living in Ser yu Lake, and he took the oldest one as his wife. Ku ga wa then gave two regions to Dkar po – Phyr mar gzhung and Ser yu lake areas – as Dkar po's property.

This perspective accords with lineage theory that traces a mountain deity's origin to another deity that controls a larger landscape. Khu ga po is a mountain deity in 'Bri stod, a county adjacent to Yul shul City. He is considered more powerful than Dkar po, and is more revered by Yul shul and 'Bri stod county residents.

Tracing Dkar po's origins to Khu ga po provides Dkar po with unassailable legitimacy, justified by accounts that have Khu ga po giving land to Dkar po. In this case, both humans and animals living in Gom ri are mere residents on Dkar po's personal property.

Gom ri villagers contend that Dkar po is *mi dkar rta dkar* 'a white man on a white horse'. "White man" refers to the color of Dkar po's clothing. Locals explain this reference by stating that Dkar po is a powerful man of magic who wears white clothes and rides a white horse. This description corresponds to paintings of Dkar po on Hwa shul Monastery temple walls, i.e., Dkar po is depicted as a man in a white robe, wearing a gold helmet featuring six flags, holding a spear in his right hand, and a *nor gzhung* 'treasure bowl' in his left hand. These images emphasize Dkar po's role as a warrior deity by Dkar po wearing a traditional warrior's helmet and dress, and armed with a spear.

Dkar po was not a white man on white horse when he first came to Phyr mar gzhung. Instead, he was a *mi nag rta nag* 'a black man on a black horse', meaning a man dressed in black riding a black horse. As described by 'Jam dbyangs bzang po (b. 1948):

When he first came here, he was a ferocious *gzhi bdag* who killed people with thunderbolts. He was very powerful. At that time, his name was Nag dus lha bsham 'deity of black time' – a bad name. He killed people with thunderbolts. Then a famous *bla ma* named Blo brtan came and converted him into a good *gzhi bdag*. Bla ma Blo brtan was the incarnation of Padmasambhava. Bla ma Blo brtan named him Dkar po lha bsham and turned him into a good *gzhi bdag*. He 'tamed' him like that and told him to be a good *gzhi bdag* and benefit all *sems can* 'living beings' - a good *bstan srung* 'Dharma protector'. He has since been good to all.

Dkar po lha bsham literally means 'white deity' while *nag dus lha bsham* translates as 'deity of black time'. This suggests that Dkar po has not always been the protector of local people, animals, and

resources. In contrast, he was a deity who killed and destroyed, but eventually became a good protector deity. This also implies that *gzhi bdag* are subservient to particularly powerful Buddhist *bla ma* and institutions, can be subdued, and their behavior and roles can be modified and determined through Buddhist institutions and personages. In this particular case, Dkar po was converted into a *bstan srung* 'Dharma protector'.

DKAR PO'S JURISDICTION AND POWER

According to the lineage origin perspective, Dkar po resides within the mountain where his palace is located, Gom ri villagers refer to this as *rdza ri rtse mo dung gi pho brang* 'high-peaked rocky mountain with a palace of conch'. His jurisdiction is defined by prominent landscapes and symbols that he has relationships with. For instance, there are certain rocky hills and prominent landscape that are believed to be Dkar po's kitchen, ritual implements, his livestock, and so on. These symbols signify the borders of his territory within which Dkar po has absolute power to punish those who dig caterpillar fungi, mine for minerals, and kill wildlife. Villagers believe that digging caterpillar fungi and killing wildlife within the "walls" of this landscape are strictly taboo. Those who violate these prohibitions are expected to receive severe punishment. These geographical markers stand out as borders of the conservation zone.

While the traditional jurisdiction of Dkar po limits the behavior of Gom ri villagers, official administrative borders restrict Gom ri villagers' conservation efforts. Dkar po is at the intersection of the borders of Hwa shul Township, Rong po Town, Yul Shul County; and 'Bri stod County. About one-third of Dkar po's traditional jurisdiction falls within the territory of Rong po Town. Consequently, when Gom ri villagers patrol Dkar po in an effort to protect wildlife and caterpillar fungi, they are powerless outside Gom ri's

administrative range. One patroller I interviewed lamented, "We are unable to stop people from collecting caterpillar fungi on the land outside Gom ri. Dkar po is not the *gzhi bdag* of people in Rong po, who don't care about protecting Dkar po Mountain."

DKAR PO'S VARIED SYMBOLIC ROLES

As mentioned earlier, mountain deities have various roles. Dkar po was given a role as Dharma protector when he was first subdued by Bla ma blo brtan. However, Gom ri residents believe he is also a warrior deity, mineral protector, and master of sentient beings in Gom ri. These latter roles are intertwined with the laity's daily lives. While traditionally Dkar po's role as Dharma protector and warrior deity is emphasized, a transition in roles is occurring. From his role as Dharma protector and warrior deity, he is becoming a protector of minerals and master of wildlife. The catalyst of this transition is because Gom ri Village and the surrounding regions have faced a series of natural and man-made disasters in recent decades that have negatively impacted locals' lives. Villagers explain the disasters as manifestation of Dkar po's wrath because minerals, animals, and medicinal herbs on his property were not protected. Villagers were motivated to respect and elevate Dkar po's role as mineral protector and master of wildlife, instead of enhancing his role as warrior deity or Dharma protector.

I will now give examples of local rituals, conservation efforts, and religious texts from Hwa shul Monastery, as well as interview records to substantiate this shift in roles.

PLEASING THE DEITY: PERFORMANCE OF RITUALS AND CONSERVATION WORK

On the thirteenth day of the eighth lunar month in 2013 (by the

Tibetan calendar), Gom ri villagers held a Dkar po consecration ritual that is held annually at this time. A man from each family is required to attend the ritual by bringing *rtsam pa*,⁸ grain, and juniper needles that are burned as offerings for Dkar po. I attended the ritual at the invitation of a villager. Men rode motorcycles, and sped towards Dkar po. We parked our motorcycles at the foot of Dkar po, and climbed up its shoulder for about two hours before reaching the *bsang khri* 'ritual altar', a platform made of stones. Four monks from Hwa shul Monastery officiated. As laymen made a fire with yak dung on the altar and burned *bsang*,⁹ the monks chanted ritual scriptures to call Dkar po to feast on the offerings. They also requested that he provide *bde ba* 'good life' for the villagers. As one ritual participant stated, the ritual helped them with *mi la na tsha med, phyugs la god kha med* 'people free of illness, livestock free from disaster'.

As is shown in the ritual scriptures below, when the monks chanted, Dkar po was called upon to act as the protector of minerals, animals, and other resources in Gom ri. The text was composed by the nineteenth Chos rje rin po che in the early 2000s. Chos rje rin po che (d. 2004)¹⁰ was the most respected lama in the Hwashul area. Part of the text describes rocky mountains, earth, grass, and water in terms of their association with *gnyan*, a term that appears frequently in the text. In Bon and Tibetan Buddhist religious texts, *gnyan* is interpreted as a deity of sky or air that traverses through rocky mountains and valleys (Gele 2011:450). *Gnyan* is also sometimes recognized as a *gzhi bdag* 'mountain deity' (Liu 2011:467, Gele 2011:449). For instance, part of the *bsang* offering scripture states:

¹བདག་ཅན་ཡོན་མཚོད་འཁོར་བཅས་ཀྱིས།

²རྩ་གཉན་གཡའ་མ་བཅས་པ་དང་།

³ས་གཉན་གད་པ་སྒྲིབ་པ་དང་།

⁸ Roasted, ground barley flour.

⁹ Ritual offerings of *rtsam pa*, grain, and juniper needles.

¹⁰ His incarnation was identified in 2014.

⁴རྩ་གཉན་ཅད་ནས་ཕྱང་པ་དང་།
⁵རྩ་གཉན་གཏིང་ནས་དགྲུག་པ་དང་།
⁶མེ་ལ་གཞོབ་སྒྲིག་ཤོར་བ་དང་།
⁷རྩ་ལ་བཙོག་པས་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་།
⁸ངན་ཤག་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བྱས་པ་དང་།
⁹རི་དྲགས་ཅན་གཟན་བསད་པ་སོགས་།
¹⁰གཞི་བདག་ཁྱོད་དང་འགལ་གྱུར་བའི།
¹¹བྱ་ངན་སྦྱོད་ངན་གང་བྱས་ཀྱང་།
¹²བདུད་ཅི་བསང་གིས་བཤགས་བྱར་བཅི།

¹bdag cag yon mchod 'khor bcas kyis
²rdza gnyan g.ya' ma bcag pa dang
³sa gnyan gad pa slog pa dang
⁴rtswa gnyan rtsad nas phyung pa dang
⁵chu gnyan gting nas dkrug pa dang
⁶me la gzhob slog shor ba dang
⁷chu la btsog pas bsad pa dang
⁸ngan shag ku co byas pa dang
⁹ri dwags gcan gzan bsad pa sogs
¹⁰gzhi bdag khyod dang 'gal gyur ba'i
¹¹bya ngan spyod ngan gang byas kun
¹²bdud rtsi bsang gis bshags bur bgyi

¹We as your servants
²Destroyed the rocks of rocky mountain *gnyan*
³Dug up the soil of earth *gnyan*
⁴Plucked the roots of grass *gnyan*
⁵Stirred up the water *gnyan*
⁶Fire is filled with the odor of burned flesh
⁷Water is polluted with dirty substances
⁸Neighbors have turned bad and argue
⁹Herbivores and carnivores are killed

¹⁰(All these acts) violate your wishes

¹¹For all the bad things and bad acts

¹²Please accept this *bsang* offering as our atonement

The ritual text above suggests that damaging mountains, earth, grass, and water, as well as killing wildlife on the land of the deities have taken place. For this, the villagers seek forgiveness from Dkar po through *bsang* offerings to him. This text also indicates that if villagers engage in such destructive activities, Dkar po will be angered and punish villagers via disasters, which I elaborate on below.

Traditionally such rituals are performed by Gom ri men to invoke Dkar po as a warrior deity to protect them in battles and conflicts with neighboring communities, but it is now a ritual that invokes Dkar po's role as mineral protector and master of wildlife. For instance, when I asked a ritual participant, Thub bstan (b. 1955), why women were absent, he replied:

Dkar po is the warrior deity of Gom ri men so women cannot come to consecrate him because there is no tradition of women having warrior deities. A warrior deity would *nus pa nyams 'gro* 'lose power' if women come here.

Despite the text repeated by monks during the ritual having nothing to do with Dkar po's role as warrior deity, this statement suggests male-only participation in the ritual was related to the primary function of the ritual - to invoke Dkar po as a warrior deity. Later, when I showed the texts to the same person, he said, "There are no wars these days. It's peacetime. We don't need to call on Dgra lha anymore. We need Dkar po to help us with environmental issues."

Both the text and the villager's statement emphasize Dkar po's role as protector of natural resources and animals, rather than his role as warrior deity. This emphasis has developed in recent decades in response to three issues. First, China's social and economic changes, and political changes in Tibetan regions in recent decades

have negatively impacted local ecosystems. Gom ri villagers interpreted the natural disasters following these changes as stemming from Dkar po's anger with the villagers' actions negatively affecting the local ecosystem.

Secondly, ecologists, as well as many Tibetan herders, have observed the degradation of the grassland ecosystem on the Tibetan Plateau in recent years (Gruschke 2008, Cencetti 2010, Han et al. 2008, Harris 2010). This realization creates space for new interpretations of local villagers' changing surroundings. Consequently, villagers blame humans for environmental degradation, and believe that protecting the natural environment appeases Dkar po, thus avoiding disasters that may befall locals.

Thirdly, mining in the Yul shul area is a very real threat. Despite no mining activity in Gom ri, there is knowledge of mining activities in neighboring regions such as in 'Bri stod and Chu mar leb counties. Gom ri villagers fear that outside mining companies will come and destroy Dkar po, leading to natural disasters such as earthquakes and snow disasters.

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL REFORMS ON THE LOCAL ECOSYSTEM STRUCTURE

Since the incorporation of Tibet into the Communist regime, the region has undergone massive political, social, and cultural changes. As did all of China, it experienced the chaos of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During these periods, as Huber (2012:204) points out in his study of hunting in Byang thang pastoral communes during the Cultural Revolution in the northern Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), many herding communities were required to hunt wildlife to meet set quotas. A local scholar also writes that in Rgyas bzang (Longbao Zhen), a town adjacent to Hwa shul, wildlife were traditionally hunted for food and animal products until living conditions improved, and wildlife protection laws and state control of the wild animal

market began to be enforced in the early twenty-first century (Bkra shis dpal 'bar 2011:285). Hwa shul nomads also experienced state initiated collectivized hunting of wildlife during the 1960s and 1970s. Despite the discontinuation of the commune system in the early 1980s, irregular hunting of wildlife by Hwa shul herders did not cease until the early 1990s, when guns and rifles were confiscated by the state, ostensibly to strengthen wildlife conservation.

Reflecting on wildlife hunting during the Cultural Revolution, Bstan dbang (b. 1940) told me:

There weren't many disasters in the 'Jig rten rnying ba 'Old World', while many disasters occur in the 'Jig rten gсар ba 'New World' because there are many *srog chags gsod mkhan* 'animal killers' and *khор yug gtor brlag byed mkhan* 'environment destroyers'. Many wild animals were killed during the Cultural Revolution, which angered Dkar po and snowstorms befell us. We and our livestock suffered.

Affected by propagandist discourse of the Cultural Revolution, many Tibetans refer to the pre-Liberation period as the 'Old World', and Post-Liberation as the 'New World'. When I asked specifically which disasters of the New World had been caused by killing wildlife, he said that the two particularly devastating snow disasters – one in 1985 and the other in 1995 – were caused by the wrath of mountain deities incurred from the wanton killing of wildlife. Indeed, studies of snowstorms affecting livestock in Yul shul region show sharp drops in livestock population in 1974-1975, 1983-1985, and 1995-1996. These declines in livestock numbers were caused by snowstorms (Dkon mchog dge legs 2012:70), which damaged local people's livelihood and economy.

Villagers interpret killing wildlife as the cause of snow storms, which thus provides villagers more evidence to respect Dkar po as the master of wildlife, further elevating Dkar po's role as *bdag po* in Gom ri. This contemporary interpretation and perception of the difference

between 'Old World' and 'New World' constrains villagers' behavior regarding killing wildlife on Dkar po.

Villagers' worries about angering Dkar po in the context of environmental destruction stands out more prominently when mining issues are discussed. I stress that Gom ri Village has only observed mining survey teams sent by provincial authorities. However, locals are familiar with mining projects underway in neighboring 'Bri stod and Chu mar leb counties and feel that mining will come to them soon. Regarding surveys of possible mines from provincial authorities, Thos rgyang (b. 1961) stated:

Many miners came to Gom ri in the past few years. We must stop them. All the stones, plants, animals, and even land and people and their livestock belong to *gzhi bdag*. If we kill animals, *gzhi bdag* will become wrathful, causing earthquakes and illnesses. [In order to please the *gzhi bdag*] people must live in harmony, and only slaughter livestock for food. Slaughtering too many or selling livestock for slaughter will anger the *gzhi bdag*.

Mining has become a prominent issue across Tibetan regions in recent years. It must be noted that mining was conducted before Tibet was incorporated into the Communist regime. For instance, citing both traditional Tibetan texts and European accounts of Tibet prior to 1950s, Huber writes that "Tibetans from both the upper and lower strata of society were openly involved in mining for livelihood and profit," however, religious legitimacy was provided for these acts (1991:65) by performing rituals to appease deities and gain mining permission from deities through ritual performance. Most current miners in Tibetan regions are perceived to be outsiders - non-Tibetans with a transnational company background. There is no religious legitimacy for such mining. Local Tibetans see such mining activities as exploitation of local resources and destruction of traditional culture by outsiders.

Almost everyone I talked with in Gom ri related disasters such

as earthquakes to mining. Skye rgu Town, Yul shul County experienced a 7.1 magnitude earthquake in 2010 that caused the deaths of at least 2,200 people and destroyed an entire prefecture seat and neighboring villages.¹¹ Gom ri villagers believe that the 2010 earthquake was caused by mountain deities in the Yul shul area as the result of environmental destruction, particularly areas under the jurisdiction of mountain deities. In 2013, a Qinghai Provincial Geological Inspection Bureau team came to the Hwa shul area to conduct geological studies. Locals, including Gom ri villagers, stopped them from entering the village, viewing the team as miners, thus preventing the team from doing a thorough inspection. Gom ri villagers' objections might be summarized as: "If they find something valuable they will dig it, which will anger Dkar po, and he will cause earthquakes, just like the one in Skye rgu."

Dkar po's right to punish villagers by sending disasters is in tandem with a belief that the land and everything on it belongs to him, thus he shows no mercy to anyone who disturbs what he owns. Villagers' worries about mining stem from the belief that Dkar po is the protector of minerals in the region, and also that mining would destroy the very mountain that is Dkar po's abode. Villagers fear that such focused destruction of Dkar po's property would lead to calamity for people and livestock. In light of such dangers, villagers enacted conservation efforts and conducted rituals to venerate Dkar po's role as the master of local wildlife and protector of minerals. An impetus for this effort is related to a major snow disaster in 2005 that killed thousands of yaks and sheep in the Yul shul area, including livestock in Gom ri. Believing there was a relationship between previous major snow disasters and the one in 2005, locals consulted Blo bzang nor bu, a high-ranking lama of Hwa shul Monastery. The result of that

¹¹ Statistics are from http://www.csi.ac.cn/manage/html/4028861611c5c2ba0111c5c558b00001/_content/10_04/26/1272245175297.html [Zhongguo dizhen xinxi wang 中国地震信息网] China Earthquake Information Network, accessed 25 March 2015.

consultation was a speech provided by 'Jam dbyangs (b. 1975), who recorded it. An excerpt follows:

You should be able to protect Dkar po. Protecting Dkar po will benefit all living beings. It will increase your *gsod nams* ['merit'], not only for yourselves, but also for the world. If you don't protect this mountain, livestock may get ill, people may become ill, there will be snow disasters, the four elements [earth, water, fire air] will cause destruction to the world.

When Dkar po was first subdued by Bla ma Blo brtan, he was appointed to be the protector of the Dharma. However, in his talk Blo bzang nor bu emphasizes Dkar po as a source of disasters if Dkar po is poorly protected, placing Dkar po in the role of master of wildlife and minerals. Furthermore, while Dkar po was traditionally considered a Dharma protector and warrior deity to protect religion and locals, he is now being protected by the local people. After this consultation, Gom ri villagers met and decided to establish a formal patrol team to protect wildlife, natural resources, and such medicinal herbs as caterpillar fungi to demonstrate villagers' devotion to Dkar po.

Since 2006, village leaders have chosen four people to conduct regular mountain patrols to stop poachers. From mid-May to mid-June, the village sent two men to live on Dkar po for the entire month to stop caterpillar fungi collection there. In order to ensure that no one clandestinely moved onto Dkar po to collect caterpillar fungi after the collection season, one person from each family went to Dkar po and stayed for two days at a collectively decided time from 20 June to 1 July (Gregorian calendar), to collect the fruiting bodies of caterpillar fungi. This was to ensure that no one would be able to collect caterpillar fungi even after patrollers left Dkar po when the collection season was over. They believed that this would make it more difficult for outsiders to find the fungi.

In 2011, they picked 2,700 fruiting bodies, and 3,000 in 2012.

The fruiting bodies were then given to the two men guarding the mountain, who subsequently buried them. The villagers feel that the high price obtained from the sale of caterpillar fungi is not worth the disasters Dkar po may inflict. Villagers' determination to avoid financial benefit rather than angering Dkar po demonstrates their collective decision to venerate Dkar po as protector of minerals and master of wildlife in Gom ri.

VILLAGERS' PERCEPTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

Official pronouncements and both Chinese and international mass media agree that western China is in a state of ecological crisis (Harris 2008:27). Regardless of whether such discourse is founded on long-term scientific study of the region, Gom ri villagers believe that they are witnessing the worsening status of the ecosystem. However, locals believe that it is caused by Dkar po's anger, and perceive that proper protection measures and rituals must be conducted to restore balance in the ecosystem as a way to appease Dkar po's wrath.

When Gom ri villagers discuss the current condition of the environment, they often compare the present with a past that they personally experienced or heard about from their parents or grandparents. For elders, environmental conditions of the Old World were far superior to the distressed ecology of the present. When I asked how the past was different from the present, 'Jam dbyangs bzang po made this distinction:

When the human heart/ mind is *dkar po* ['white/ good'], humans and land are *thum* ['intertwined'], connected together; when the human heart/ mind is *nag* ['black/ bad'], humans and land are *thum med* ['disconnected'].

While speaking, he put his palms together, to demonstrate the

thum or intertwined state of the human body with the land in which he resides. His statement suggests that in this distant past, humans, as well as their culture, were part of nature. They were inseparable and, in this inseparable realm, humans are good because they did not exploit natural resources. This differs from the situation today, where there is a division between nature and culture that leads to the exploitation of nature by the bearers of culture.

Related to their subsistence life, villagers attribute the poor quality of their yak milk products to the degradation of the ecosystem. Several villagers I talked with said:

When the *skye khams* ['environment'] is not good, yaks don't have milk. If there is milk, then it's not tasty, there is less butter from milk, and milk has no *bcud* ['nutrition'/ 'fertility'].

The notion of *bcud* is often used by villagers to describe grassland degradation. Villagers comment that grass has no *bcud* these days, which is why their yak milk products lack nutrition.

The villagers also complain about vanishing plant species in relation to *bcud*. For instance, Byams bstan (b. 1973) describes caterpillar fungi and other medicinal herbs:

In the past, there were plenty of medicinal herbs everywhere. People could subsist on the herbs of their own area and didn't need to go elsewhere for herbs. However, because of environmental destruction nowadays, there are few herbs in many places and, even if there are, they aren't very effective.

Gom ri villagers believe that losing *bcud* in the grass and extinction of plant species in the region are because locals disregard Dkar po as master and protector of these resources. In order to restore the *bcud* to a balanced level, villagers need to respect Dkar po, and hold appropriate rituals in his honor.

Gom ri villagers believe that there are two forms of ritual

performances to restore the fertility of nature. The first is offering *bsang* to Dkar po during the annual consecration of Dkar po. Second, burying *gter bum* restores the grassland's fertility. Byams bstan describes burying *gter bum* and offering *bsang* to Dkar po:

Consecrating Dkar po lha bsham pleases Dkar po and will result in timely rainfall, people and livestock will be free from disasters, and people will live a safe, happy life. *Gter bum* contains gold, bronze, and grain. Burying *gter bum* reestablishes *bcud* ['fertility'] of the land, thus pleasing Dkar po. When the land loses nutrition, *gter bum* helps restore it.

Aside from such actions as patrolling Dkar po to protect wildlife and caterpillar fungi, villagers believe that such ritual consecration as making *bsang* offerings prevents future disasters and creates an ecosystem that is favorable for grassland restoration.

Burying *gter bum* entails villagers burying small bags containing grain and sometimes silver and other precious metals, to help restore elements that were originally in the soil but then lost due to mining and other destructive activities. These restorative acts are done in the name of Dkar po, with the hope of pleasing him and bringing *bcud* back to the land. These actions by Gom ri villagers suggest that in the face of perceived environmental degradation, villagers need new interpretations of and preventive measures for their degrading surroundings.

PARALYZED BODIES

Dkar po's wrath projects collectively on the whole of certain geographical locations through such calamities as earthquakes and snow disasters, and also to individuals in the village for violating

Dkar po's wishes. The fear of punishment for individual behavior restricts locals, because they have witnessed "facts" that demonstrate Dkar po's physical punishment.

Connecting different events to cause-effect cycles is common in Gom ri. Misfortunes and illnesses are often ascribed to improper behavior regarding Dkar po, for instance, Bstan nor (b. 1980) gave this account of two hunters in Gom ri:

In Gom ri there were two friends whose wives were sisters. These two men enjoyed hunting and killed whatever wild animals that they saw, such as snow leopards, bears, blue sheep, musk deer, and so on. Dkar po lha bsham finally grew wrathful and caused the two friends to fight each other. In the end, one killed the other, but the survivor's hands and legs became paralyzed and he could only move by crawling to move. He still lives in Gom ri.

This statement suggests that Dkar po is capable of controlling individual behavior and, when killing of wildlife occurs, Dkar po resorts to punishment as severe as death. The concept of *bzha'* 'paralysis' as punishment is prominent in association with Dkar po. For instance, another hunter in Gom ri was punished by having his limbs paralyzed, as described by Chos bzang (b. 1957):

A man in Gom ri killed many animals such as snow leopards, leopards, and musk-deer near Mdzo lding zam kha.¹² His legs finally became paralyzed and claws grew on the back of his hands. He was terrified and moved to 'Bri stod County.

This statement suggests that Dkar po seriously punished the man, who could only save his own life by fleeing to 'Bri stod County, outside Dkar po's jurisdiction.

Regardless of the cause of the illnesses described above, what

¹² Mdzo lding zam kha is a small lake at the foot of Dkar po.

Gom ri villagers perceive as noteworthy and real is that these illnesses and conflicts relate to the afflicted individuals' wrong behavior regarding Dkar po. Actual conflicts and illnesses in the community become evidence for Dkar po's authority to punish, convincing villagers that killing wildlife leads to severe repercussions.

Gom ri villagers believe that such punishment is the result of destroying the environment and killing wildlife. Restoring balance to the ecosystem is thus undertaken by venerating Dkar po as protector of minerals and animals in Gom ri.

These perceived punishments limit villagers' actions, creating a moral conservation zone through fear of Dkar po's wrath, originating from Dkar po's role as warrior deity and Dharma protector shifting to his role as master and protector of local resources.

CONCLUSION

Changing roles are not uncommon for mountain deities. Hazod (1998:72) discusses role changes of mountain deities from a group ancestor to *yul lha* 'local deity', and then to Dharma protector. What is important here, is the roles mountain deities assume in response to a specific socio-political, environmental context. Dkar po's shift from regional warrior deity and Dharma protector, to protector and master of local resources may create a strong, lasting conservation drive among Gom ri villagers, signifying that locals are extremely concerned about changes in their ecosystem in the face of threats to their environment. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the roles of Dkar po as warrior deity and Dharma protector did not vanish or fade away due to his new roles as the master and protector of the local environment. Dkar po has all these roles simultaneously. The emphasis and importance of different roles are strengthened during different periods. Under current perceived notions of

environmental degradation, Dkar po's role as the master and protector of the local environment is strengthened by locals who have been motivated to protect the natural environment.

Scientific study of Tibetan sacred sites by Chinese ecologists suggests that such sites play an important role in conservation (Shen et al. 2012). Indeed, as the case of Dkar po suggests, mountain deities might play a stronger role in promoting local conservation actions. Mining within the jurisdiction of mountain deities damages the local ecosystem and environmental cultural practices that have been passed down for generations. Furthermore, political instability may result when mountains are desecrated, creating mass protests against mining companies, which usually have robust connections with authorities. The power and interests of the state to implement projects intended to extract natural resources from Yul shul and other areas are very significant, especially given these resources' commercial value. Even if the mountain deity belief system helps strengthen national conservation efforts and effectiveness, what locals believe about mountain deities is often ignored as superstitious and meaningless to outsiders. It remains to be seen if locals' devotion to this particular mountain deity will be useful in restricting exploitation of local resources.

Such sacred sites as mountain deities are in danger of vanishing in the face of statist modernization projects and changes in local villagers' way of life. Such projects often emphasize, and provide financial support for sedentarization of local herders by concentrating them in towns to lead an "urban" more "developed" life. The success of such projects is debatable, e.g., Dbang 'dus sgrol ma, a native of Yul shul, writes that a resettlement effort in Yul shul County that she studied:

...did not economically benefit locals; poverty alleviation was not realized. The majority of the resettled herders struggled to make a living as they shifted from a subsistence to a consumerist lifeway. The production system of the resettled herders changed

from multi-livestock production to no source of production, consequently reducing herders' income. Relocated herders mainly depended on collecting and selling caterpillar fungus for cash income in 2007 (2012:36).

However, many young people I talked to in Gom ri prefer urban life over their forebears' way of life. These two trends re-spatialize locals' way of living that disconnects younger generations from their ancestral mountain deities because of the differences in spatial locations of mountain deities and their preferred urban livelihood space.

The last issue speaks to the concern of a Gom ri villager I previously addressed – the intertwined state of nature and humans. Locals protect the mountain and its flora and fauna and, in return, Dkar po ensures locals' safety. This state of interconnectedness may be unravelled by urbanization, sedentarization, and modernization projects that disrupt reciprocity-based relations between locals and Dkar po. This disruption of order may ultimately lead to objectification of nature, an entity that, rather than being part of culture, becomes situated outside the cultural realm and available for economic exploitation.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'bri stod འབྲི་སྟོད། (Zhiduo 治多)
'jam dbyangs འཇམ་དབྱངས།
'jam dbyangs bzang po འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཟང་པོ།
'jam dga' འཇམ་དགའ།
'jig rten gsar ba འཇིག་རྟེན་གསར་པ།
'jig rten rnying ba འཇིག་རྟེན་རྟིང་པ།
bcud བཅུད།
bdag po བདག་པོ།
bde ba བདེ་བ།
bde chen བདེ་ཆེན། (Diqing 迪庆)
bla ma བླ་མ།
bla ma blo brtan བླ་མ་བློ་བརྟན།
blo bzang nor bu བློ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ།
bsang བསང།
bsang khri བསང་ཁྲི།
bskal nyi བསྐལ་ལྷི། (Ganning 甘宁)
bsod nams བསོད་ནམས།
bstan dbang བསྟན་དབང།
bstan nor བསྟན་ནོར།
bstan srung བསྟན་སྲུང།
byams bstan བྱམས་བསྟན།
byang thang བྱང་ཐང། (Qiangtang 羌塘)
bzha' བཞའ།
chab mdo ཆབ་མདོ། (Changdu 昌都)
chos bzang ཆོས་བཟང།
chos rje rin po che ཆོས་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ།
chos skyong ཆོས་སྟོང།

chu mar leb རྩུ་མར་ལེབ། (Qumalai 曲玛莱)
dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu དབྱར་རྩ་དགུན་འབྲ། (dongchong xiacao 冬虫夏草)
dgra lha དག་ལ།
dkar mdzes དཀར་མཛེས། (Ganzi 甘孜)
dkar po དཀར་པོ།
dkar po lha bsham དཀར་པོ་ལྷ་བཤམ།
g.yang thar གཡང་ཐར། (Yunta 云塔)
gnyan གཉན།
gom ri གོམ་རི། (Gangri 岗日)
gom ri khog གོམ་རི་ཁོག།
gter bum གཏེར་བུམ།
gzhi bdag གཞི་བདག།
hwa shul ཧྲ་ཤུ། (Haxiu 哈秀)
khams ཁམས།
khor yug gtor brlag byed mkhan ཁོར་ཡུག་གཏོར་བརྒྱལ་བྱེད་མཁན།
khu ga po ཁུ་ག་པོ།
klu ལུ།
mdzo lding zam kha མཛོ་ལྷིང་ཟམ་ཀ།
mi dkar rta dkar མི་དཀར་རྟ་དཀར།
mi la na tsha med མི་ལ་ན་ཆ་མེད།
mi nag rta nag མི་ནག་རྟ་ནག།
mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྔོན། (Qinghai 青海)
muyecun བཤེད་ཀྱངས་རྒྱུ་ཁྱེད།
nag chu ནག་ཆུ།
nag dus lha bsham ནག་དུས་ལྷ་བཤམ།
nor gzhung རོར་གཞུང།
nyams 'gro ཉམས་འགོ།
Padmasambhawa (slob dpon pad ma 'byung gnas སྤོབ་དཔོན་པད་མ་འབྲུང་གཞན།)

phyugs la god kha med ཕུགས་ལ་གོད་ཀ་མེད།
phyur mar gzhung ཕུར་མར་གཙུང་།
rdza ri rtse mo dung gi pho brang རྩ་རི་རེ་མོ་དུང་གི་ཕོ་བྲང་།
rgyas bzang རྒྱས་བཟང་།
ri bo brgyud khrid kyi dus རི་བོ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དུས།
rong po རོང་པོ། (Longbao 隆宝)
rtsam pa རུས་པ།
sems can སེམས་ཅན།
sems can gyi bdag po སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་བདག་པོ།
ser yu སེར་ཡུ།

Shan Shui Conservation Center (Shanshui ziran baohu zhongxin
山水自然保护中心)

shengtai buchang 生态补偿

Shengtai yimin 生态移民

Sipeitao 四配套

skye khams སྐེ་ཁམས།

skye rgu སྐེ་རྒྱ། (Jiegu 结古)

srog chags gsod mkhan སྐྱོག་ཆགས་གསོད་མཁན།

thos rgyang ཐོས་རྒྱང་།

thub bstan ཐུབ་བསྟན།

thum ཐུམ།

Tsering Bum (tshe ring 'bum ཚེ་རིང་འབུམ།)

tshe ring nor bu ཚེ་རིང་ནོར་བུ།

wa long ལ་ལོང་། (Walong 哇陇)

yuan 元

yul lha ཡུལ་ལྷ།

yul shul ཡུལ་ཤུལ། (Yushu 玉树)

SOCIALIZING WITH GODS IN THE MONGGHUL BOG RITUAL

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ABSTRACT

This article introduces a communal ritual, known as Bog, as practiced among the Mongghul, a linguistically and culturally distinct group of people of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. The main activity of the Bog ritual involves deities and ancestral souls being invited to a sumptuous "banquet" where religious practitioners, called *fashi*, chant scriptures, sing, dance, joke, and burn incense to delight the "guests." This essay provides a thick description of the ritual. To provide context for this description, we introduce the community on which our description focuses, and also discuss the role of *fashi*. A chronological account of the ritual follows that includes not only descriptions of the ritual activities, but also interpretations of the meaning of these events from the perspective of the ritual practitioners. We also provide an analysis of the performances given during the ritual and how they contribute to creating a spectacle that delights both human and non-human participants.

KEYWORDS

fashi, Mongghul (Monguor, Tu), ritual, shaman, Shenjiao

INTRODUCTION¹

This article introduces a communal ritual, known as Bog, as practiced among the Mongghul, a linguistically and culturally distinct group of people of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. The Mongghul are officially classified by the Chinese government as belonging to the Tu (Monguor) nationality, and are referred to as Monguor in English-language literature (Schram 2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]). We avoid the use of the term Tu because of its derogatory connotations (Roche 2011). The term Mongghul (Limusishiden and Jugui 2011, Limusishiden and Dede 2012, Limusishiden, Ha, and Stuart 2013), moreover, is used to refer to a specific sub-population of the Tu/Monguor that is historically, linguistically, and culturally distinct from other populations classified as Tu. Speaking a Mongolic language (Georg 2003), the Mongghul traditionally considered themselves as residents of the Duluun Lunkuang 'the Seven Valleys', a loosely unified territorial polity on the northeast Tibetan Plateau formerly centered on a Tibetan Buddhist monastery known as Rgulang Monastery.² Mongghul see no contradiction in practicing Tibetan Buddhism while also venerating a variety of patron deities not otherwise widespread in the Tibetan Buddhist world, including the Dragon King (Longwang) deities, the Mother Goddess of Children (Nengneng), and Black Tiger (Heihuye). These deities are enshrined in *muyiu* 'communal temples',³ and, as explained below, are tended to

¹ This paper is based on a presentation given at the Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Ulaanbaator in 2013 on a panel organized by Geoffrey Samuel, entitled Tibetan and Mongolian Ritual Dance. We thank participants and attendees for their feedback, as well as feedback from two anonymous referees. Any remaining errors or omissions are our own.

² See Sullivan (2013) for more on this monastery. The Mongghul name for the monastery, Rgulang, is derived from the Tibetan name, Dgon lung dgon pa. Local Han Chinese call it Youning Si.

³ The term *muyiu* is derived from the Chinese term *miao*. Throughout the text, we provide most terms in Mongghul pinyin (see Limusishiden and Dede 2012, Shoji 2003) and provide Chinese and Tibetan equivalents where possible in a list of non-English terms at the end of the article.

by religious specialists that we refer to as *fashi*.

Schram's work (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]) provides us with the most detailed English-language account of the ritual. This missionary-ethnographer observed the ritual, which he calls "the rites of spring," in the early twentieth century. His description contains several moments of unusual clarity considering the more than two decades that interceded between observing the ritual and publishing the book, but is hampered by the author's speculations on such topics as "archaic shamanic elements" and "human sacrifice." Similarly, the description of the ritual by Schröder (1952/3),⁴ another missionary-ethnographer, contains some unfortunate misunderstandings, most likely arising from the biases inherent in his position:

The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again... They carry the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten...

As shall be seen below, children are not, nor most likely were they ever, killed as part of the Bog ritual. Schröder (1942/5) contains another, longer description of the Bog ritual.⁵ This account is, however, based on a single interview with one elderly male consultant, was not verified by observation, and therefore lacks both detail and veracity. A final useful source on the ritual are Zhuang Xueben's photographs of Bog, taken in the 1930s (Zhuang 2009).

The Bog ritual is called Bangbang by local Han Chinese in the

⁴ This and the quote from Schröder are taken from the 1962 translation of his original German publication, available through the Human Relations Area Files, which does not contain page numbers.

⁵ Many thanks to Bianca Horlemann for alerting us to this source.

Seven Valleys, a name derived from the sound of drums being beaten by *fashi* during the ritual. The main activity of the ritual involves all deities and ancestral souls being invited to a sumptuous "banquet" where *fashi* chant scriptures, sing, dance, joke, and burn incense to delight the "guests." *Fashi* invite deities from three religious traditions: Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao 'the way of the deities'. Villagers light incense and kowtow to the deities and in doing so, hope to ensure peace and prosperity for themselves and the entire community in the coming year. The Bog ritual thus fits within a localized ritual complex that includes the Nadun and Laru festivals,⁶ celebrated by Tibetans, Mangghuer,⁷ and Han Chinese in nearby areas of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. More broadly still, the Bog ritual is similar to other "temple fairs" throughout China and the Sinic world (Chau 2006, Cooper 2013, Dean 1998, Dean and Zheng 2009a, 2009b, Guo 2005, Johnson 2009, Overmeyer 2009, Ward 1979, Weiller 1994, Zhao and Bell 2007). Meanwhile, we may also note that the ritual bears many similarities to Mongolian rituals in which spirit guests are invited to a banquet, offered treats of food, drink, and sometimes tobacco, for the purpose of facilitating communication between living humans and both non-living humans and other spirits. Although the many similarities between this ritual and others in the region provide ample grounds for fruitful comparison, we focus primarily on providing ethnographic details based on our case study, and avoid making broad generalizations beyond our data.

The Bog ritual provides an opportunity for villagers to host, encounter, and spend time with deities and ancestral spirits. It is based as much on *socializing with* deities as worshipping them. Throughout the Bog ritual, and in everyday life more generally,

⁶ For more on Nadun see Roche (2011) and Stuart and Hu (1993). For more on Laru see Stuart et al. (1995); Dpal ldan bkra shis and Stuart (1998); Buffetrille (2008); and Snying bo rgyal and Rino (2009).

⁷ The Mangghuer, along with the Mongghul, are classified as Tu (Monguor). Their distinct language is unintelligible to Mongghul, and they also practice somewhat different, but related, cultural forms to the Mongghul. For more on the Mangghuer see Roche (2011).

divinatory and other practices allow Mongghul people to interact with deities, and vice versa. Questions may be put to deities, and yes/ no (or other binary) answers are given through the use of divination blocks, or other signals from the deities, such as a pole embodying the deity moving in a certain direction.⁸ Throughout this article, we treat the deities as active participants and agents in the ritual who make decisions, provide guidance, and take part in determining the course of events.

Following, we begin by introducing our case study site, Yomajaa Village, focusing on the village temple, its deities, and village attendants. We then provide background on the role of *fashi*, and give an account from Ma Ankui (b. 1964), Yomajaa's *fashi*, of his role and its history. A detailed ethnographic description of the ritual process is then provided.

This paper is based on research carried out by Limusishiden, who observed Yomajaa Bog on the third day of the third lunar month in 2013. The ritual was filmed by Ban+de mkhar, and photographs were taken by Jugui. Yomajaa's *fashi*, Ma Ankui, also generously donated his time for an extensive interview with Limusishiden and Roche, as well as numerous follow-up inquiries. In addition to this focused research on Yomajaa Bog, Limusishiden also visited Bog rituals in four other villages over a span of twenty years, and relied on his own experience and knowledge as a Mongghul from the Seven Valleys.

YOMAJAA VILLAGE

Yomajaa Village is located in Donggou Township, approximately five kilometers from Weiyuan Town, the seat of Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County (Qinghai Province). Yomajaa is a large community consisting of four discrete hamlets - Majaa, Yojaa, Chinjaa, and

⁸ See Limusishiden and Stuart (1994), Ha and Stuart (2008), Roche (2011), and Limusishiden et al. (2013) for divinatory practices in the context of local Shenjiao.

Huuwan - and in 2013 had a total of 1,600 residents in 270 households. Among them, Huuwan residents were Han Chinese, while others were all Mongghul.

The village temple, which serves all four hamlets, and is the site of the local Bog ritual, is located in a grove of trees on the southern outskirts of the village. It is built in a Han Chinese style, whereas village temples elsewhere in the Seven Valleys typically resemble Tibetan Buddhist temples. The deities inside the temple are referred to as Longwang (Dragon King - Chilebsang in Mongghul). There were originally five dragon kings in the temple - black, yellow, blue, white, and crimson⁹ - but the white and crimson dragons were stolen by villagers from nearby Naja Village,¹⁰ and are now enshrined in the village temple there. Each of the three deities in Yomajaa Temple has their own sedan and a pole, while the black and blue dragons also have spears.¹¹ The sedans, poles, and spears may all be used as mediums through which villagers may interact with deities.

The temple complex contains twelve rooms surrounded by an adobe wall. The main hall of the temple is located on the south side of the complex and houses the dragon king deities, while the hall on the western side of the complex (the *mawangdian*) houses the Horse King deity¹² (Mazuye). The front gate of the temple is located on the northern side of the complex. A road passes the temple complex's south and west sides, and a large cairn¹³ is located beside the road to the west. This cairn is said to have originally been constructed together with the temple. A river flows from east to west in front of the temple.

A *guangnii* 'caretaker' manages the temple. The position is

⁹ Chinese - *zao*.

¹⁰ In Weiyuan Town.

¹¹ The sedans contain no statues of the deities, unlike the case of Shenjiao among the Mangghuer (Roche 2011, Roche and Wen 2013).

¹² This deity is considered the ancestor and protector of all livestock, and is enshrined as a *tangka* - an image painted on cloth.

¹³ The cairn is known as a *lasizi* - a square stone with a hollow base, rimmed by a low wooden railing. Numerous poles resembling arrows and spears are thrust into the *lasizi*. They are consecrated to heaven and various deities.

rotated annually, and is typically filled by a man in his fifties or older. The caretaker lights incense and lamps for the deities in the temple and guards the temple at night. He also helps villagers who come to seek guidance from the enshrined deities, and generally maintains the temple complex. Also associated with the temple are thirteen *tiruuqi* or *guwa* 'green crops officers,' men twenty to eighty years of age.¹⁴ The green crops officers ensure the protection of village crops through ritual means, particularly by preventing hail. Their duties include visiting nearby mountaintops,¹⁵ burning juniper, and prostrating to all the deities and Tingere 'Heaven'; collecting rapeseed oil, flour, pork, and money from village households as a fee for Tibetan Buddhist monks who are invited to chant scriptures to ensure safety for village crops; and consulting with the temple caretaker and deities to perform other rituals necessary for the protection of the crops. They also play an important role in the Bog ritual throughout its process, in consultation with the temple caretaker and deities, including organization, coordination between ritual participants, and participating in the ritual process as required (see below).

FASHI - THE BOG RITUAL SPECIALIST

Fashi is the term for this ritual specialist in the local Han Chinese dialect. Local Mongghul use this term, but they also employ the Mongghul word *bog*, which is derived from the written Mongol term for "shaman," *böge* (modern Mongolian *böö*). Since the term *bog* is identical to the name of the ritual, we use *fashi* for clarity's sake. Roche and Wen (2013) provide further details on these religious

¹⁴ The temple caretaker and green crops officers are replaced each year at an annual meeting called Lazii that is held in the temple. The temple deities communicate through the pole or sedan and choose these community representatives.

¹⁵ The specific peaks they visit and how often vary yearly according to a schedule determined by the temple deities during the annual Lazii - see above.

practitioners in the nearby Mangghuer community of the Three Valleys.¹⁶ Potanin (2015 [1893]) provides the first Western-language description of *fashi*, in the context of the Mangghuer of the Three Valleys, providing a detailed description of a ritual, based on a single observation in the winter of 1884-1885. He mistakenly refers to them as *yinyang* (in the local context, *yinyang* are household Daoist tantrins). Schram also provides details about *fashi*, who he calls shamans, and describes as follows (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]:309):

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

The term *fashi*, in a broader Chinese context, is typically associated with Daoism (Kohn 2000). Folk Daoists in northern China apparently use the term *fashi* to refer to certain religious practitioners (Jones 2010), but these are different from the *fashi* of the northeast Tibetan Plateau.

The *fashi*'s main role is to mediate between humans on one hand, and, on the other, deities, the souls of the deceased, and ghosts.¹⁷

¹⁶ In the Three Valleys, the term *fashi* is pronounced *huashi*.

¹⁷ Ghosts are distinguished from the souls of the deceased in that ghosts are malevolent while ancestral spirits are typically benevolent. A person

Their mediation typically takes the form of sensorial spectacles - chanting, dancing, and beating drums - intended to delight deities and ancestral spirits.¹⁸ The costume of the *fashi* typically includes a long, sleeveless red tunic that hangs to below the knees and is slit into several sections below the waist, so that this "skirt" flairs as the *fashi* dance. Their drum is a single-skinned frame drum with an iron frame and handle. The base of the handle forms a two-lobed loop on which several metal rings or discs are strung, forming a tambourine that produces a sound that Potanin (2015:164) described as "a tragic whispering, translated into the language of iron rattles." The drum is held in one hand and beaten with a stick held in the other hand. During performances, *fashi* frequently heat their drums over flames to obtain a taut, resonant sound from the instrument.

Only men are *fashi*. The role is passed from father to son, and if a *fashi* has no sons, he chooses a successor among his brothers' sons, because a lineage that fails to produce a *fashi* is thought to become beset with disasters. As described in the account below, the *fashi* lineage in Yomajaa was fixed in perpetuity by the village's Dragon King deities.

Fashi are organized into discrete but unnamed troupes, consisting of a *wanshan* 'leader' and his students, who are the *wanshan*'s sons and nephews. Ma Ankui is presently the *wanshan* of his troupe who, along with his ancestors are well-known throughout the Seven Valleys as *hgai bog* 'the swine *fashi*' since one of the previous *fashi* in the troupe was thought to have moved clumsily in a "swinish" manner. On 22 April, 2013, Limusishiden visited Ma Ankui at his home in Yomajaa. Ma Ankui gave the following account of his lineage's history:

My family genealogy shows that our ancestors were Muslims who

typically becomes a ghost rather than an ancestor if they die a violent, unnatural death, especially in their youth.

¹⁸ However, they use a variety of aggressive methods to mediate between humans and ghosts. See Roche and Wen (2013) and Borretz (2010) on the role of violence in Shenjiao.

came here from Nanjing Municipality a long time ago, though no one knows how many generations ago they came here. I remember seeing our Muslim ancestors' graveyards in our village when I was very young. However, the tombs were later leveled by the village administration.

It is said that my ancestors built a small mosque in our village, but it was converted to a temple for Shenjiao when our ancestors renounced Islam. About the time of my grandfather's grandfather, my ancestors abandoned their Islamic faith, due to widespread violent animosity against Muslims, in retaliation against the Muslim rebellions of that time.¹⁹ So, those ancestors became Han, but shortly after, they became Mongghul, since most people in our village and surrounding areas were Mongghul. However we are now Mongghul. We speak Mongghul and our customs are Mongghul, except that we bury our deceased in coffins as local Han do, but unlike Mongghul, who cremate their dead.

Some time in the past, my lineage was facing difficulties, and so my ancestors went to Yomajaa Temple to ask for help from the temple's dragon king deities. They told our family to enshrine the Goddess of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian Shengmu) and the Black Tiger God and meanwhile, our family members should become *fashi* and perform the Yomajaa Bog.²⁰ So, since then, our ancestors have been *fashi*. However, in my grandfather's time, Bog was suppressed for about twenty years, but after that, Bog was performed again.²¹

¹⁹ This enables the events to be approximately situated in the second half of the nineteenth century, during which two large Muslim "rebellions" took place: one from 1862-1875 and another in 1895-1896 (Lipman 1998). Ma Ankui's ancestors most likely converted some time during the first Muslim "rebellion."

²⁰ It is not known if there were Bog performances in Yomajaa before Ma Ankui's ancestors became *fashi*.

²¹ This refers to the suppression of all traditional practices between 1958 and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 (Roche and Wen 2013).

Figure 1. Ma Ankui in the ritual attire of a *fashi* leader, or *wanshan* (photograph supplied by Ma Ankui).



THE BOG RITUAL

The Yomajaa Bog is held annually from the first to the fourth days of the third lunar month, focusing primarily on the third day. All Bog rituals are typically three days long.²²

The First Day - Preparing the Site

On the first day of the third lunar month, the temple caretaker cleans the temple complex. The *fashi* are invited by the temple caretaker and the green crops officers to the temple, where they spend the day

²² See Appendix One for dates and locations of all currently known Bog rituals.

cutting and printing papers that will be used throughout the ritual. All papers are called *fan*, but there are two main types. The first are rectangular banners that are hung on the walls of the main hall, above the front gate, and on the walls of the temple courtyard. These are cut with intricate designs depicting deer, dragons, lions, vases, lotuses, and other things. These papers decorate the temple with bright colors and delicate, intricate forms, creating a sensory environment that delights human and non-human ritual participants.

The second type of *fan* are long thin banners that are typically painted with symmetrical geometrical patterns and are cut more sparsely with relatively simple designs. Each of the long paper banners is offered by a village household on the third day of the ritual, as votive offerings to the deity that represent that family's wishes for the coming year.

Figure 2. Deer patterned papers pasted on the wall in Yomajaa Bog (Jugui, Yomajaa Bog, 12 April 2013).



Figure 3. The three sedaned dragon king deities are placed on a long table. Behind them are the long *fan* that have been offered by each household (Jugui, Yomajaa Bog, 12 April 2013).



The Second Day - Small Bog

The second day of the third lunar month is regarded as the Mula 'Small' Bog. Early in the morning at a time selected by the dragon kings, some villagers and the green crops officers erect an eleven meter tall pole in the temple yard center, while all *fashi* stand before the dragon kings inside the main hall, beating drums while chanting. The main focus of the chanting at this time is the dedication of offerings of incense and lamps to the dragon kings.

The pole that is raised at this time plays an important role in the Bog ritual. It is locally referred to as *fan* (as are the papers). Three poles are joined together to reach this height.²³ The pole is considered a bridge along which deities travel from the heavens to join the Bog ritual in the temple. The bottom sixty centimeters of the

²³ The three poles are stored in the temple throughout the year.

pole represents the King of Hell (Xnjiri Rjawuu, the Chain King) who is also invited to attend.

Nine small triangular banners made of red paper are attached atop the pole, representing the deity Jiutian Shengmu. Under the nine banners is a ring edged with colorful papers, representing Nantianmen the 'South Sky Gate' through which all deities pass on their way from the heavens to the temple. Above the South Sky Gate, a two-pronged wooden fork is attached to the pole, and two steamed buns are impaled on the two prongs. Villagers who have been unable to conceive will try to obtain those buns when the pole is lowered at the ritual's end. A hemp rope is tied from the top of the pole to the main column of the temple's main hall. After entering through the South Sky Gate, all deities travel along this rope and will later also depart along it. Three small banners are attached to the rope near where it joins the pole. The top one represents Buddhism, the middle one Daoism, and the lower one Shenjiao.²⁴

A long table is placed at the base of the pole and the sedaned dragon kings are put on it. A square table is put before the long table and used to display such offerings as steamed buns, butter lamps, incense sticks, strings of cloth and, later, a dead pig. After the pole is erected, all *fashi* are invited to have breakfast at a village household previously appointed by the temple deities. After breakfast, the *fashi* return to the temple to perform Qingshenjing 'Invitation of the Deities'.²⁵ They beat their drums and chant Sanjiaojing 'Scripture of the Three Religions' (Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao), which briefly introduces each of these religions: first Buddhism, then Daoism, and finally Shenjiao. They summon each of the multitudinous gods by name, and invite them to join a banquet in the main hall of the temple. According to Ma Ankui, the main content of the chanting is:

²⁴ See Sárközy (1996) for more on the use of ropes in Mongolian shamanic rituals.

²⁵ In this sense, the Bog ritual conforms to the basic pattern described by Overmeyer (2009) in his work on north China folk religion of inviting, entertaining, and seeing off deities.

Figure 4. The erected *fan*. The deities descend onto the top of the pole, and enter the temple via the rope. The paper banners (top to bottom) represent Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao (Jugui, Yomajaa, 12 April 2013).



We have lit incense sticks on twelve large incense burners and twelve small burners. We have opened all the doors for you. Thousands of people are lighting incense sticks and hundreds of thousands of people are now making prostrations to you. So please, all of you, come down and sit on your thrones...

This chanting lasts about forty minutes. The invitation of the deities is then concluded and the *fashi* rest.

After resting, the *fashi*, dragon kings, the temple caretaker, thirteen green crops officers, and selected village men, go to a household that will offer a pig to the deities during the ritual. The elected household has a member that will become a new green crops officer in the coming year, and a family member has previously slaughtered the pig and removed its organs. When they all reach the household, the *fashi* chant scriptures and beat drums, while the green crops officers and village men light incense and prostrate to the four directions in the courtyard. After the *fashi* finish chanting, the whole slaughtered pig is covered with a cloth so that it will not get dirty while it is transported to the temple in a cart. At the temple, the swine is then put in front of the sedaned dragon kings, with its head facing the main hall. The internal organs are boiled at the household and carried to the temple, where they are displayed on a stick in the following order from distal to proximal: heart, lung, liver, two kidneys, one loop of intestines, and the breast bone. This stick is laid on the table next to the pig. Offering the organs in this way indicates that the entire animal is being offered.

After the pig has been brought to the temple, the *fashi* chant "Scripture of the Three Religions" and beat drums in the courtyard, while facing the main hall where all the invited gods are thought to be sitting. They also chant to offer the pig to the deities and to encourage them to enjoy the banquet that has been prepared. This rite takes about half an hour, and then the *fashi* eat lunch at the home of a designated villager.

At about three PM, the *fashi* conduct a rite to invite Xishen Niangniang 'Happy Goddess', who must be invited separately from

the other deities.²⁶ The temple caretaker's head is bound with a piece of red cloth and a model bow and arrow is put on his back. He holds a box filled with wheat seeds into which a *xishenqi* 'happy goddess flag' made of colorful paper is inserted.²⁷ Then the temple caretaker, all *fashi*, the two dragon kings, the green crops officers, and some village men go outside the temple courtyard. The sedaned dragon kings indicate the direction in which Happy Goddess is on that day, or the *fashi* may calculate the direction using a finger-counting prognostication. Once the direction has been determined, the temple caretaker is asked by the *fashi* to kneel and face that direction. The sedaned dragon kings, *fashi*, and all other people face in that direction, and the *fashi* once again chant and beat drums. Ma Ankui summarized the content of the chanting:

Now we know where you, dear Happy Goddess, are located. The dragon kings have personally come out to receive you. Please come to our temple and join the other gods for a banquet now...

The chanting lasts about half an hour. The temple caretaker then returns to the temple with the *fashi*, two sedaned dragon kings, and other participants following. After they enter the temple courtyard, Happy Goddess has been successfully invited. The *fashi* scatter wheat seeds in the courtyard leading to the main hall, signifying the propitious presence of Happy Goddess who is invited to sit in the seat of honor, beside the dragon kings inside the main hall. The *wanshan* then says some auspicious words, for example (Ma Ankui):

Gold and silver have come; wheat seeds and canola oil have come; children and grandchildren have come; everything we could want has come with dear Happy Goddess...

Once this is done, the *fashi* ask the temple caretaker to say

²⁶ We were unable to ascertain why this deity is invited separately.

²⁷ The flag is typically triangular and red.

some propitious words. With comic aggression, they smear a little butter on the temple caretaker's forehead, stuff roasted highland barley flour in his mouth, and repeatedly raise a bowl of liquor to his lips, forcefully encouraging him to eat and drink his fill, in order to thank him for successfully bringing Happy Goddess to the banquet. The temple caretaker then says some propitious words, for example (Ma Ankui):

Here I, on behalf of Happy Goddess, acknowledge you all. We are sure a bumper harvest will come to the Seven Valleys this year. I will protect crops from hailstones and wind; all villagers will be safe from illness and all their hopes will be fulfilled...

It is now about five PM and the *fashi* are invited to have supper in a designated home.

At about eight PM, the *fashi* return to the temple to invite villagers' ancestral souls to the Bog. It is already dark outside. Green crops officers light a fire just in front of the temple courtyard gate, where two *fashi* perform, while villagers kneel, kowtow, and burn yellow votive papers for ancestral souls. At this time, the main content of the *fashi's* chanting is (Ma Ankui):

Souls please come! Souls please come! Please walk to the gate of the temple. Guardians of the temple,²⁸ please ask all the souls to enter the front gate. All souls, please make prostrations to the pole first and then make prostrations to the deities who have already arrived. Please then take your seats outside the main hall of the temple. Please sit in your arranged seats. Elders, please sit in the important seats, and those who are younger, please sit in the places that have been arranged for you.²⁹

²⁸ Temples in the Seven Valleys are thought to have two guardian deities that stand sentry at the gate of the temple complex. Some temples actually have these deities painted in the portico, but most do not.

²⁹ Ancestral souls abide by the social norms of the living, with those of senior generations being offered superior seating to those of younger

The seating area for ancestral souls is in the temple courtyard, rather than inside the main temple hall where the deities are seated. A table is placed against one sidewall outside the main hall. Steamed white buns and lit butter lamps are put on the table. A metal basin is placed in front of the table, and people use this when they burn yellow votive papers and kowtow during the ritual (just as they do during funerals).³⁰

All the non-human guests for the Bog have now assembled. The dragon kings sit in the seat of honor, in the middle of the main hall of the temple. Happy Goddess sits beside them, and they are flanked by a multitude of other deities, including the King of Hell. Offerings of brightly burning incense and butter lamps, beautiful colorful paper flags, silk, and flowers, and fragrant steamed buns, pork, fruit, grain, and alcohol are all set before them. The souls of all deceased villagers, arranged in age rank, wait outside the temple. Offerings of white steamed buns and burning butter lamps have been placed before them. Preliminary entertainment has been offered, and thanks given for the attendance of esteemed guests. The scene is set for a magnificent banquet, and only one final detail remains to be arranged.

Evening of the Second Night - Catching Spirits

In order to both empower and delight the guests of honor, the temple's dragon kings, the rite of Chubing Shoubing³¹ 'Catching Spirits' is performed. The *fashi*, the dragon kings, the temple officer, the green crops officers, and selected village men perform this rite

generations. "Elders" and "those who are younger" should be considered in terms of relative generation, not in absolute terms.

³⁰ People may burn papers and kowtow to ancestral spirits at any point during Bog, after the ancestors have been invited on the second night.

³¹ *Chubing shoubing* literally 'disperse and bring back soldiers', with "soldiers" being *fashi* who go out to catch spirits and then return.

secretly. This is because, although the intention is to capture ghosts to sacrifice to the deities, the wandering, disembodied spirit of a living person may be accidentally caught, which may lead to their illness or even death. Therefore, preparations are made in secret, and the rite is carried out under the cover of darkness. Elder villagers stated that the rite was historically conducted in wild places far from the village, such as on mountain passes or near springs, to where villagers and *fashi* rode on horseback.

The rite of catching spirits is held in conjunction with Bog once every three years. The *wanshan* and dragon kings direct the participants who, without any forewarning, are suddenly summoned to the temple at a time previously determined by the dragon kings. When all participants have gathered at the temple gate, they separate into two groups according to arrangements made by the dragon kings. The two groups then set off rapidly in directions determined by the dragon kings.

The observation below is based on Limusishiden's observations of one such group during the 2013 Yomajaa Bog:

The Dragon King led,³² followed by three *fashi*, several green crops officers who carried various ritual paraphernalia, and me. The Dragon King repeatedly rushed forward, paused briefly, turned, lurched, and sped off in another direction. Following the deity, we hurried to the woods behind the temple. Everyone was silent. The *fashi* asked the deity where the spirits should be caught. The deity moved back and forth repeatedly, and then suddenly stood still, signifying that a site for catching spirits had been chosen. One of the *fashi* asked a green crops officer to bring nine incense sticks. He made a pile of straw and lit it, about twenty meters away from the *fashi*. He lit nine incense sticks from the fire and handed them to the *fashi*, who knelt on the ground facing south. The deity stood just behind the *fashi*.

³² In this case, it was in its form as a pole. Two men carried the pole, held horizontally across their shoulders.

The *fashi* inserted the nine incense sticks into an open bottle that was then placed in the wooden box. The *fashi* then asked a man to scatter jujubes and candies in the four directions, in order to lure wandering spirits, and the man did so. The *fashi* stood up and began circling the bottle slowly, murmuring incantations,³³ and waving a paper banner. He walked clockwise at first, and then suddenly changed to a counterclockwise direction. He changed directions again twice. Sometimes, he paused briefly. This continued for about ten minutes.

At this tense juncture, the lead *fashi* from the other group arrived, announcing that they had caught a spirit. He also advised, "Please, other *fashi*, beat your drums quickly." Then, the three *fashi* began beating their drums and chanting while the *fashi* who had just arrived cracked a hemp whip in the air, to further frighten the wandering spirits. The three *fashi* beating drums walked closer to the bottle. At this point, one *fashi* called for the rooster's neck to be broken. After this was done, the rooster lay twitching on the ground where it was thrown. The three *fashi* circled the bottle, beating drums while repeatedly extending and then retracting their arms. Having enticed wandering spirits with the jujubes and candies, the loud and aggressive drum beating, the searing crack of the hemp whip, and the violent, efficacious curses eventually forced a spirit into the bottle.

The three *fashi* suddenly called out, "Ah!" in unison, and then pounced towards the bottle, which toppled over. One of the *fashi* immediately blocked the mouth with a Qing Dynasty coin, over which a red cloth was placed, which was then secured by tying a hemp thread around the neck of the bottle.³⁴

³³ The specific content of the chants is secret, but Ma Ankui explained that basically, these incantations used forceful language to threaten the wandering spirits to enter the bottle.

³⁴ A coin from the imperial period is considered efficacious in suppressing wandering spirits and other evils because such beings find these coins

One *fashi* then carried the bottle into the temple and placed it at the feet of the dragon kings inside the temple's main hall. It was then covered with two wooden boxes until, on the following night, the spirits were transferred into the dragon kings by the *fashi*, prior to the conclusion of the Bog ritual. The dragon kings thus empowered and energized by the spirits, were now more efficacious in helping villagers.

After placing the captured spirits in the temple, all participants returned home ready for the grand banquet the following day.

The Third Day

The third and main day of the Yomajaa Bog is attended by most villagers and many residents of nearby villages who wear their best clothes. Numerous peddlers come to do business: some sell packaged food and drink, others set up food carts and temporary restaurants, while still others sell toys and other novelties. When not observing the ritual, revelers sit in the woods surrounding the temple and drink, eat, sing, dance, talk, and joke, creating a lively, bustling atmosphere rarely seen throughout the year in Yomajaa.

To begin the day, starting at about eight AM, each village household sends a representative to hang a colored paper banner on the pole in the temple courtyard. These votive offerings are presented to the dragon kings and all assembled deities as gifts to delight them and as tokens of the hopes and dreams of the household in the coming year. For example, if a couple is childless, they may wish to have a child in the future; certain families may wish a sick family member to recover; and others may wish to have a bumper harvest, or for their child to pass an entrance examination. As villagers arrive and hang their paper offerings, the *fashi* perform to delight all the deities, and thus better ensure that villagers' hopes are fulfilled. This

unbearably heavy.

takes about an hour, and then the *fashi* eat breakfast in a designated village home.

After breakfast, a three-course banquet for the assembled deities begins. During the first course, the *fashi* kneel on the floor of the main hall, beating drums and chanting scriptures that describe the lighting and offering of incense and lamps for the deities. The caretaker and the green crops officers light butter lamps both inside the main hall and on the table in front of the dragon kings in the temple courtyard. Village participants light butter lamps, burn yellow papers, and prostrate to all the deities and ancestral souls that have gathered. After about twenty minutes, this first course of the banquet is concluded.

For the second course, the *fashi* ask for ten large bowls from the temple caretaker. Each is filled with several handfuls of wheat seeds, a flower (any kind), incense sticks, a butter lamp, clean water, a piece of fruit, a piece of steamed bun, a small piece of gold or silver, a string of prayer beads, and a *kadog*.³⁵ These are put on the tables inside the main hall. The *fashi* then chant scriptures with four different melodies³⁶ and beat their drums with four different rhythms while facing the dragon kings inside the main hall.

Ten boys are then invited into the main hall and each is asked to hold one of the bowls. After singing for about half an hour, the *fashi* take those bowls and walk out of the main hall toward the dragon kings in the courtyard. The *fashi* present the ten bowls on the long table before the dragon kings. They then beat their drums and chant scriptures again, after which the ten boys pick up the bowls from the table. Although the chant rhythm and melody differs from what was chanted inside the temple, the content is basically the same.

The *fashi* chant scriptures and beat their drums while circling the sedaned dragon kings. The ten boys follow, holding the bowls. They walk to the main hall, other small halls, to the four corners of the temple complex, and then the front gate.³⁷ In doing this, they

³⁵ A blue or yellow silk cloth, offered to esteemed persons and to deities.

³⁶ The melodies have no names.

³⁷ There is no certain order in which to visit the different parts of the

symbolically acknowledge the entire space within the temple complex and offer the substances in the bowls to the multitude of deities and souls gathered there, thus ensuring that each of the non-human guests is delighted by this second course of the grand banquet. This rite takes about an hour.

The third course of the banquet involves the *fashi* describing the pole that has been erected in the courtyard. While chanting and beating their drums, the *fashi* elaborately describe the different parts of the pole, what they are made from, how they are made, and so on. This third course of the banquet takes about an hour, after which the banquet is considered complete, and the *fashi* rest.

Next, the Liangdan 'Scattering Grain and Egg Rite' is performed. Having been delighted with an extravagant banquet, attentive service, and ornate chanting, the non-human guests now reciprocate by bestowing their blessings on the people. Halfway down the rope connecting the pole to the main hall of the temple is a paper package. It contains a rich mixture of treats: jujubes, candies, walnuts, wheat seeds, coins, paper money, wheat flour dough, and other items.³⁸ The contents of this bundle have been empowered by all the deities, and thus is generally efficacious in avoiding misfortune and ensuring peace and prosperity, especially in protecting children from sickness. During the day, fathers take their sons under the bundle so that the blessings accumulated in the bundle may descend on the boy.

A teeming crowd of villagers gathers in the temple courtyard for Liangdan. The *fashi* stand on the temple porch. As they chant and beat their drums, one swings the rope, signifying the exhilaration of the gathered deities. Eventually, the paper package falls from the rope, and its contents scatter in all directions on the ground. Villagers scramble for these items as one of the *fashi* tosses candies, jujubes, and so on into the seething crowd. Villagers consider the items they grab to be tokens of good luck and protection.

In total, this rite takes about an hour, and it is then time for

temple, so long as all parts of the complex are visited.

³⁸ This package was placed there that morning by one of the *fashi*, while villagers were hanging their household papers.

the *fashi* to have lunch.

The Third Day - Dances

After lunch, the *fashi* reassemble in the temple courtyard, ready to begin a series of danced performances intended to delight all the human and non-human guests. Crowds gather to watch and enjoy these performances. The *fashi* heighten the spectacular nature of the performances by manipulating several elements across a variety of sensory registers. We describe each of these elements: volume, motion and color, embodied technique, coordination and synchronization, and humor. A short film, showing examples of each of these elements of spectacle, can be viewed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uw59X2JKDsw>.

The first element is auditory, and focuses on the volume of the chanting and beating of their drums; the manipulation of volume is the defining characteristic of Bog music, rather than the control of melody or rhythm. The drumming juxtaposes soft and loud passages ranging from the gentle jingles of iron rings rattling on the *fashi's* drum handles, to the clamor of many drums beating simultaneously with full force. It features repeated crescendos of volume, punctuated by intensified percussive force, to highlight key moments. Similarly, the chanting traverses a wide volume range, from passages where the *fashi* holler, with red faces and bulging neck veins, to passages recited almost at a whisper.

The second element is visual and includes motion and color - the bright red costumes of the *fashi*, the display of multicolored paper banners around the temple courtyard, the long paper banners hung from the decorated pole in the courtyard center, and the graphic dynamism created, for example, by the *fashi* as they spin with skirts flaring, or toss their drum in the air, causing it to spin end over end.

A third element of the Bog spectacle relates to the *fashi's* embodied mastery of technique. The *fashi* must be able to cartwheel, hop, leap, spin, shake, contort, and bend, and, furthermore, to do

each and all of these for a long time. The more deftly these actions are performed, and the longer the duration of their performance, the more spectacular the performance is for both human and non-human guests.

The third and fourth elements of the production of spectacle relate to the organization of multiple performers in space. Coordination refers to the capacity of several *fashi* to do different things in order to create an intricate overall pattern, for example, by weaving among each other at high speed, while spinning, with such precision that their flared skirts overlap but their bodies never touch. Related is synchronization - the ability of several *fashi* to perform the same thing at the same time: to beat drums in complex, stochastic rhythms in taut unison or to advance and retreat simultaneously while fanned out in a line, without being able to see what the other *fashi* are doing, or for two *fashi* to suddenly burst out of a prolonged spin, facing each other, and immediately begin beating their drums together.

A final element that contributes to the spectacular nature of the Bog performances is humor, which typically emerges when any of the preceding elements goes awry, typically in the performance of younger and more inexperienced *fashi*. *Fashi* may also intentionally sabotage each other during the performance. The profusion of humor throughout the Bog highlights its fundamentally spectacular nature, and sets it off from more somber, solemn ritual forms, as do the presence of the other elements of spectacle: volume, color and motion, technical mastery, coordination, and synchronization.

The *fashi*'s repertoire consists of a number of short performances. During Bog, the first two dances are always the same: Worshipping the Sedans (Baijiao) and Walking Taiji (Zoutaiji).

- Worshipping the Sedans. All *fashi* stand in a row facing the sedaned dragon kings, holding their drums. They first walk forward three steps, and then backward three steps. They then walk forward three steps again, and bow to the dragon kings. They repeat these steps in the four directions in the order of north,

south, east, and west.

- Walking *Taiji*. The *fashi* beat their drums while walking in single file, led by the *wanshan*, in the pattern of a *taiji* 'ying-yang' symbol. They symbolically acknowledge all the assembled non-human guests at the four corners of the performance space by spinning their drums in their hand, and walking backwards several paces before turning their back on each corner.

Any of the following dances may be done in any order following these two performances. There is no fixed total number of dances that must be performed, but each dance is only performed once, and *fashi* typically perform for about four hours. In addition to the important steps detailed below, each dance also involves considerable improvisation.

- Lunshen 'Circling the Deities'. One *fashi* is randomly chosen and stands in the middle of the circle formed by the other *fashi*. The other *fashi* dance around him as he improvises a danced performance.
- Sanhuangwudi 'Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns'. The *wanshan* dances first. He beats his drum, and then kicks his left foot up and touches it to the palm of his outstretched left hand. He then kicks his right foot backward and touches the sole of his foot with his right hand. Each *fashi* performs the same moves after the *wanshan*.
- Xiaohongquan 'Martial Arts'. Two *fashi* engage in mock martial-arts combat. The other *fashi* follow in pairs, each staging a mock martial arts bout.
- Kongzhongquyu 'Taking Rain from the Air'. This is performed individually by each *fashi* in succession. Each *fashi* improvises briefly, and then throws his drum in the air above his head. As it slowly spins end-over-end, he quickly kneels. As the drum falls, he stands and catches it.
- Maqueyingshui 'Swallow Drinking Water'. This is performed by all *fashi*, in pairs. Each *fashi* places his drum on the ground and

then lays the drumstick across the drum. He next spreads his legs wide, leans forward with his hands behind his back, and attempts to pick up the drumstick with his teeth.

- Fenghuangsandiantou 'the Phoenix Nods Thrice'. This is performed by each *fashi* one by one. Each *fashi* stands on his right leg, his left leg stretches forward, and he then beats his drum thrice. He holds his left leg stretched out to the left, and beats his drum thrice again. Finally, he bends his left leg behind him, and beats his drum thrice again.
- Huangyingzhanchi 'The Yellow Warbler Spreads its Wings'. This is performed by each *fashi* individually. He hops on one leg while beating his drum, occasionally spreading his arms.
- Limazhuang 'Hitching Post', involves each *fashi* placing his drum on the ground and attempting to do a headstand on it while others beat their drums.
- Zuochuyouru 'Exit on the Left and Enter from the Right' involves each *fashi* doing a cartwheel over his drum, which he places on the ground, and then picks up in the course of the cartwheel.

The final dance is always a second performance of Walking Taiji, but this time performed in the opposite direction from that in which it was first performed.

The human audience shrinks and swells over the duration of the performances. People chat while watching the dances, and laugh at humorous moments. No other overt signs of appreciation are made.

After several hours of performing, the *fashi* rest.

The Third Day Continues

The *fashi* perform Yinwudao 'Receiving The God of the Five Roads'. The temple caretaker's head is again bound with red cloth and a model bow and arrow is put on his back. He holds a wooden box filled with wheat seeds in which a colorful paper flag has been inserted.

Then the temple caretaker, all *fashi*, and the sedaned dragon kings leave the temple, followed by the green crops officers, some village men, and five boys, each holding a small paper flag. They go to the four outer corners of the temple and invite the gods of the five roads to join the festivities. In each of the corners a rooster is killed by breaking its neck, thus giving the rooster to the gods of the five roads.

In addition, the main *fashi* makes a divination in each of the corners of the temple, to determine from which direction disasters, such as flood, drought, hailstones, or frost will come from during the coming year. If the divination reveals that a disaster will come from a given direction within the year, the *fashi* immediately suppresses the calamity, using an upturned black bowl and a wooden stake which has efficacious texts painted in ink.³⁹ The *wanshan* cuts his forearm, mixes his blood with the rooster's blood, chants, and buries the stake in the ground and covers it with the black bowl. A small paper flag is inserted in the ground above the bowl. This concludes the rite and disasters are thus avoided.

The rite is finished at around supper time, at dusk. After supper, the sedan-worshipping rite is performed. During this rite, villagers increase their fortunes by making prostrations and lighting butter lamps together. The *fashi* make seven lamps with the wheat flour dough. Some villagers also bring their own wheat dough lamps. They then put their lamps with those made by the *fashi* together in the upper courtyard in front of the main hall. Normally, a big lidless wooden box is set upside down on the ground, and two successively smaller boxes are upturned atop the large box. An upturned black bowl is placed atop the smallest box. Lamps are then placed atop the bowl and boxes, with the villagers' and *fashi*'s lamps mixed together. The *fashi* chant and beat drums while villagers kowtow until the lamps burn out. The chanting during this rite includes offering incense to the deities and the "Scripture of the Three Religions." The sedan-worshipping rite takes about an hour.

Afterwards, the *wanshan* teaches scriptures - the process is

³⁹ The *fashi* claim to know the texts but cannot tell others.

called *jiangjing* - to his apprentices, inside the main hall of the temple. He asks his students questions, which the apprentices answer. If they cannot answer, then the *wanshan* explains the answers. The questions are mostly related to the scriptures of Shenjiao, however, additional topics may cover anything from the creation of the earth to contemporary political policies.

At around midnight, villagers take down the pole and all the paper is removed, piled up in the temple courtyard, and burned. Meanwhile, the *fashi* chant. The main content of the chanting is to offer the burned papers to the deities, and to beseech them for a bumper harvest, and general peace and prosperity.

After the pole is taken down, the *fashi* see off all invited souls by beating drums and chanting scriptures, while villagers burn yellow papers outside the temple. The main content is (Ma Ankui):

Seeing souls off! Seeing souls off. Please walk out from the temple gate. Guardian of the temple, please ask all the souls to walk out the front gate. All souls, please travel well on your return trip. See you again next year at this time.

The day's ritual is then concluded, and everyone retires for the night.

The Fourth Day

At about eight o'clock in the morning, the *fashi* beat drums and chant scriptures while villagers make prostrations in order to see off all the gods. The *fashi* call the name of each deity, thank them for coming to the ritual, and express the hope that they will meet again at next year's ritual. Bog is thus concluded.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have described the Bog ritual, an annual temple ritual held in Mongghul communities on the northeast Tibetan Plateau. Prior to describing the ritual, we introduced our fieldsite, Yomajaa Village, and also introduced the main ritual practitioner in the Bog, the *fashi*, focusing particularly on Ma Ankui, the *wanshan*, or leader of the local *fashi* troupe. We described the three days of the ritual, giving particular attention to the second night, when spirits are captured to enliven the deities, and also to the dances performed on the third day of the Bog. In describing these performances, we concentrated on how the elements of volume, motion and color, embodied technique, coordination and synchronization, and humor are combined to create a sense of spectacle. The spectacular nature of these performances, in turns, highlights the nature of the Bog as an essentially *social* event, including human and non-human participants.

We hope that this article will inspire further research on the diverse ritual cultures of the area, and particularly into their social and spectacular nature. Meanwhile, we also encourage continuing research on the Mongghul and their traditions, many of which remain undocumented.

APPENDIX ONE: SCHEDULE OF BOG PERFORMANCES IN HUZHU COUNTY

Village	Location	Main Date	Invited <i>Fashi</i>
Yomajaa	Donggou Township	The third day of the third lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Shgeayili	Donggou Township	The second day of the second lunar month	Xinyuanbu Village, Tangchuan Town (local Han Chinese).
Shdangja	Danma Town	The eighth day of the twelfth lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Slidii	Danma Town	The thirteenth day of the third lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Xanjang Village, Danma Town; Qalighuali Village, Dongshan Township and the swine <i>bogs</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Sughuangghuali	Danma Town	The eighteenth day of the third lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Qalighuali Village, Dongshan Township and the swine <i>fashi</i> are from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Qalighuali	Dongshan Township	The eighth day of the second lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from their own village.
Qighaan Dawa	Dongshan	The eighth	The swine <i>fashi</i> from

	Township	day of the second lunar month	Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Shgeayili	Dongshan Township	The fifth day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Jija Nuri	Dongshan Township	The eighteenth day of the fourth lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Tanzi Village, Dongshan Township.
Tanzi	Dongshan Township	The fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from their own village.
Halija	Dongshan Township	The third day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Liuja	Wushi Town	The second day of the second lunar month.	Xanjang Village, Danma Town.
Naja	Weiyuan Town	The third day of the third lunar month	Liangzhouying Village, Weiyuan Town.
Jangma	Weiyuan Town	The third day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Liangzhouying	Weiyuan Town	The eighth day of the fourth lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> are from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Chinese characters are provided for words that are identifiably Chinese. Tibetan script is also provided for words of Tibetan origin. Other terms are Mongghul.

Baijiao 拜娇

Bangbang 榔榔

Bog

Chilebsang

Chinjaa (Chenjia 陈家) Hamlet

chubing shoubing 出兵收兵

Danma 丹麻 Town

Donggou 东沟 Township

fan 幡

fashi 法师

Fenghuang sandiantou 凤凰三点头

guangnii གླུ་གྲོ་མཚོ།

guwa གཡུ་བ།

Halija (Xialijia 下李家) Village

Han 汉

Heihuye 黑虎爷

hgai bog

Huangying zhanchi 黄莺展翅

Huuwan (Hewan 河湾) Hamlet

Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County, Huzhu tuzu zizhixian 互助土族自治县

Jangma (Yatou 崖头) Village

jiangjing 讲经

Jija Nuri (Jijialing 吉家岭) Village

Jiutian shengmu 九天圣母

kadog (kha btags ཁ་བཏག་པ།)

Kongzhongquyu 空中取雨

lasizi

lazii (*lab rtse* ལའ་རྩེ།)

Liangdan 粮蛋
Liangzhouying 凉州营 Village
Limazhuang 立马桩
Limusishiden
Liuja 柳家 Village
longwang 龙王
Lunshen 轮神
Ma Ankui 马安奎
Majaa (Majia 马家) Hamlet
Mazuye 马祖爷
Maque yinshui 麻雀饮水
Mawangdian 马王殿
Mongghul
Mula Bog
muyiu (*miao* 庙)
Naja (Najia 纳家) Village
Nanjing 南京
nantianmen 南天门
Nengneng (Niangniang 娘娘)
Qalighuali (Chaergou 岔儿沟) Village
Qighaan Dawa (Baiyahe 白崖合) Village
Qingshenjing 请神经
Qinghai 青海 Province
Qinghai University Attached Hospital 青海大学附属医院
Rgulang རྒྱལ་ལྔ་པ་
Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝
Sanjiaojing 三教经
Shdangja (Dongjia 东家) Village
shenjiao 神教
Shgeayili (Dazhuang 大庄) Village
Slidii (Songde 松德) Village
Sughuangghuali (Suobugou 索卜沟) Village
taiji 太极
Tangchuan 塘川 Town
tangka (thang ka ཐང་ཀ་)

Tanzi 滩子 Village

Tingere

tiruuqi

Tu 土

wanshan

Weiyuan 威远 Town

Wushi 五十 Town

Xanjiang (Shancheng 山城) Village

Xiaohongquan 小红拳

Xinyuanbu (Xinyuan 新元) Village

Xishen Niangniang 喜神娘娘

xishenqi 喜神旗

Xnjiri Rjawuu (gshin rje rgyal po གཤིན་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་)

Yinwudao 引五道

Yojaa (Yaojia 姚家) Hamlet

Yomajaa (Yaomajia 姚麻家) Village

zao 枣

Zoutaiji 走太极

Zuochuyouru 左出右入

MANUSCRIPTS, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND EPHEMERA OF THE SILK ROUTE: ARTIFACTS OF EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY LADAKHI TRADE BETWEEN CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA

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Abdul Nasir Khan (Florida Atlantic University)

ABSTRACT

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century system of trans-Himalayan-Karakorum trade in Ladakh (India) was a regionally significant branch of the oft-discussed "Silk Route" that connected Central and South Asia. In this article we explore the socio-political lives of Ladakhi traders during this time period through the use of varied sources, including historical documents, material culture collections, and contemporary interviews with surviving traders and the descendants of traders. This study highlights the historical dimensions of transnational global commercial connections, while providing a humanizing glimpse into the individual lives and experiences of traders in this system. The sources indicate that there were clear class hierarchies associated with the historical trade system, and that the commerce was dependent on a variety of transnational socio-political networks. Through their study we see a way of life that would drastically change within the next few decades, as trade was disrupted due to increased regional instability and the closing of national borders.

KEYWORDS

history, India, Ladakh, Silk Route, trade

Figure 1. Map of Ladakh (India).



INTRODUCTION¹

The mental images evoked by historical trans-Himalayan trade may include rugged treks through vast mountain vistas, rustic traders, and remote and isolated spaces. However, when we consider the stopping places such traders inhabited, e.g., historical marketplaces for

¹ Thank you to Zayd Khan, Amina Khan, Munshi Bakir, Amma Nullah Tak, the Khan Manzil family of Leh, the Kamal Khan family of Leh, the Munshi family of Kargil, Dr. Timothy Steigenga (Florida Atlantic University), and Dr. Rachel Corr (Florida Atlantic University). Special thanks to the anonymous reviewers of this article for their careful reads and very useful feedback.

international commodities, tax posts of multiple governments, and bustling inns hosting travelers from around the world, a very different narrative arises. Elite traders in the north Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh, pictured in the map below in Figure 1, were deeply embedded in a complex global economic system in the early twentieth century. They could, and did, buy even the most ordinary household items from the global market. These items included Gillette blades manufactured in the USA, buttons from Czechoslovakia, and menthol from Japan. Some were cosmopolitan consumers of literature from around the world, and their interactions with British colonial officials in India and Central Asian rulers in Turkestan/ Xinjiang placed them at the nexus of global politics. The mountain passes Ladakhi traders struggled to traverse acted as conduits, linking Central and South Asia for centuries as part of the interconnected web of trading routes often called "the Silk Route."

This article illuminates this late nineteenth and early twentieth century system of trans-Himalayan-Karakorum trade in Ladakh, traversing both the routes and stops along the way. Presented here is a collection of Ladakhi traders' own letters, accounts, artifacts, and other ephemera, that offer a glimpse of the socio-political worlds that Ladakhi traders occupied during this time period, contextualized with information from interviews with traders and the descendants of traders in the region. An informed examination of these artifacts can provide a more nuanced understanding of the workings of a little-known branch of this transnational trade system. A study of these traders' material culture highlights the historical dimensions of transnational global commercial connections, while providing a humanizing glimpse into their individual lives and experiences. This glimpse reflects several realities of the time period, including clear class hierarchies associated with this trade system, and the transnational socio-political connections that surrounded this commerce.

SOURCES

The documents and photographs in this article are a collection of primary sources from Ladakh concerning trade in the greater Himalayan region. Our main goal is to make these available for scholarly study, as they have never been published and are not currently available in any public archives. Many Ladakhi households treasure archival and material culture associated with the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century trade system. These images convey only a small part of the resources that may be available for study. The documents selected cover a wide array of topics associated with trade and as such are invaluable in the study of both Ladakh, and Asian trade systems. They are assembled from a collection of papers that belonged to two early twentieth century traders in Ladakh, Bahauddin Khan and his son, Shamsuddin Khan. They were preserved by descendants of these traders, the Khan Manzil family of Leh. The Khan family still lives in the same house in which their ancestors had controlled trade and welcomed caravans from Central Asia for over one hundred years. Several boxes of papers had been kept in a basement of the family's house. Upon "excavation" in 1999, we found that the documents from the Khan house consisted of over 1,000 pages, and a few bound notebooks. These included a broad variety of types of papers, including memos, letters, envelopes, receipts, permits, government postings, account books, and telegrams.

Even more impressive than the number of documents was the sheer variety of topics covered in their contents. Both personal and business papers were mixed together in this pile, offering a detailed look at the lives of traders at the turn of the twentieth century in Ladakh. The goods mentioned in these pages portrayed thriving trade in numerous global commodities, and the areas that these documents had come from represented vast business networks. While the most common trade correspondence was with places now in north India and Pakistan, such as Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Srinagar, and Lucknow, many contained news and information linking Ladakh to other countries such as Germany, Japan, the USA, England, and Russia. A majority of all the documents date from between 1900 to 1948. Those included here focus mainly on the 1930s and 1940s, just before the borders of northern India and China were closed in the early 1950s.

The documents were written in various languages, including Urdu, English, Persian, Uighur, Hindi, and Bodiyig (Ladakhi written in the Tibetan script), in rough order of the frequency of language use; they use four different alphabets — Arabic, Roman, Tibetan, and Devanagari. The number of languages and scripts, combined with the use of specialized trading jargon, represented a linguistic challenge for translation. Therefore, translation of the documents was a group effort, involving over a dozen different individuals in Leh and Kargil,

as well as numerous descendants of traders in other parts of north India.²

Documents that were not written in English are presented with translations in order to make them accessible to a range of scholars interested in their contents. We have gathered many different versions of some phrases and terms, and combined information gleaned from individual knowledge of particular terms and literary styles to create more complete translations. The goal of our final version of these translations was that of general comprehension and when necessary, we revised for meaning rather than literal translation of terms, although we have tried not to substantially change the language used by the document authors. While these translations will thus help give readers new to the materials a sense of their contents, they may not convey all of the indirect information traders could glean from language use choices and other subtleties of writing. When the layout of the document is relevant for understanding, the translations are presented by overlaying English on copies of the original documents to preserve the original formatting. In addition to providing new historical sources, the presence of the documents in this article is also meant to provide a guide for those working with similar documents from the region, offering insight into the weights, symbols, calendars, and other notation systems used by Ladakhi traders.

Pictures of actual items that were traded along the trans-Himalayan routes in the early twentieth century complement the documents. Members of the Munshi family in Kargil discovered a majority of this material culture in 1994, while clearing the ruins of their old *caravanserai* for new construction. The descendants of trader and *caravanserai* owner, Munshi Aziz Bhat, found crates of old trading goods that had been left in the rubble, concealed among pieces of the roof. They collected the crates and items around them, and looked through the piles of antique trading goods with curiosity. Medicines and dyes from Europe, still in their packaging, sat beside finely embroidered caps and shoes from Central Asia. A sack that had contained sugar from Cuba, a Petro-Max oil lamp from Germany, and an antique record player all signified facets of Ladakhi participation along the Silk Route that had previously been little understood. The items from the family *caravanserai* provided the catalyst for a local history museum in Kargil, which has since been started by the

² Translators and interviewees who have not given explicit permission for the use of their names in publication are not named here.

Munshi family. The Munshi Aziz Bhat Museum can be visited in Kargil today, and represents a significant movement to preserve local history in Ladakh. Our photographs of these goods are used to provide readers with a view of the material culture associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century trade networks through Ladakh. There are also a few photographs of items from other private collections in Ladakh.

The documents and commodities are contextualized through the use of interviews conducted between 1999 and 2013. During this time period we interviewed former traders and others knowledgeable about historical trade throughout northern India, in the towns of Leh, Kargil, Hoshiarpur, Jammu, and Amritsar, as well as surrounding regions. These interviews, conducted with almost fifty people, were mainly with men over the age of sixty who had been involved with the transnational trade system in Ladakh before the 1950s. Some of the interviewed were named in the documents, while others were the descendants of individuals mentioned in the documents. Still others were recommended for discussion by the first set of interviewees.³

This view of the documents and other ephemera of trans-Himalayan trade provides us with a detailed view of the lives of late nineteenth and early twentieth century traders of Ladakh. As we read the words of historical traders, we can begin to understand better the complexity of the socio-political worlds they occupied, the variety of trade goods in which they dealt, and the workings of a little-known branch of this international trade system. This article is meant to help us understand both why and how these traders engaged in such tasks. The manuscripts, material culture, and ephemera not only offer insight into a vanished system of trade, but together with the interview accounts of traders and their descendants they also tell a tale of the social and political contexts of that trade.

³ Limited selections from these sources have been previously used in some of our earlier publications, most notably in the book *Trade and Society Along the Silk Route: An Ethnohistory of Ladakh* (Fewkes 2008), and in our book chapter (Fewkes and Khan 2005). In these publications, however, only a few documents and items were featured. In this article, we present manuscripts and ephemera not previously published in our earlier works, and consider new aspects of the relationships between them.

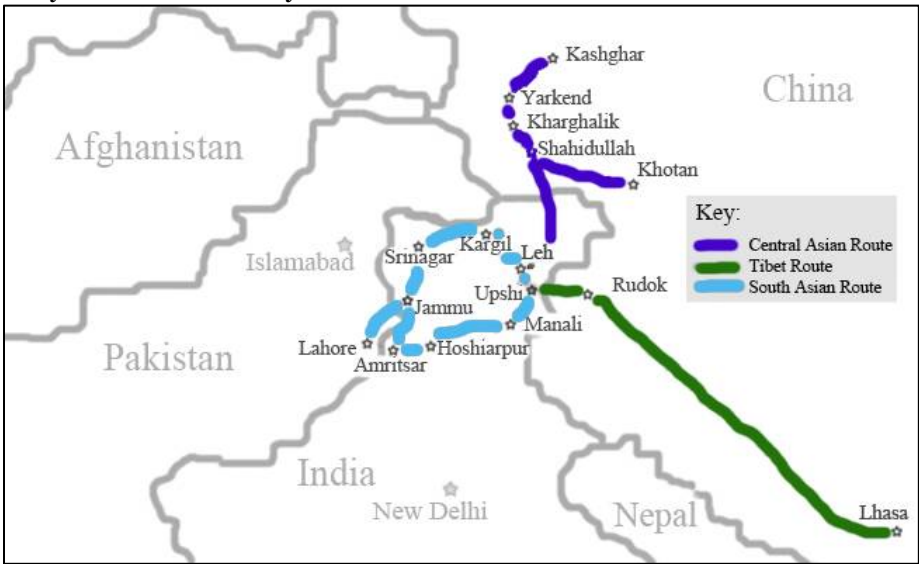
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1834, Ladakh was invaded by, and subsequently became a part of, Maharaja Gulab Singh's Dogra Empire. As John Bray (1991) points out, until this time Ladakh was an independent state similar to Bhutan today. A number of authors (e.g., Gadru 1973) have argued the Maharaja's conquest of Ladakh was motivated by trade, as Ladakhi trade in pashmina, the fine goat wool commonly referred to as cashmere, was a valuable source of revenue. This seems likely as after victory the Maharaja's trade representatives were quickly sent to Ladakh to secure a government monopoly on the pashmina trade. In the 1846 Treaty of Lahore, which marked the end of the Anglo-Sikh War, the British colonial government recognized Maharaja Gulab Singh as an independent sovereign with the territory of Kashmir, including Ladakh and Skardo.

Both the Dogra and British colonial governments recognized the value of trade in Ladakh, and part of their treaty agreement required Maharaja Gulab Singh to pay an annual tribute to the British consisting of "twelve pashmina goats and three pairs of shawls" (Gadru 1973:xvi). The tribute was a symbolic statement of the relationship between trade and politics in the region. In the ensuing years, while the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir technically ruled Ladakh, the British held indirect power through trade regulation and as advisors to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The British were interested in Ladakh as a link to Central Asia and in the 1860s, the British colonial government stationed a representative in Leh. This initial posting was ostensibly in response to concerns about the negative impact of import duties, levied by both the governments of Jammu and Kashmir, and China on the colonial Indian economy (Henderson and Hume 1981:5). The British official was stationed in Leh during the summer months to regulate taxes on goods moving between Chinese Central Asia and British India, and further develop these trade links. The official's presence had the desired effect, and reportedly quadrupled Central Asian trade going to British India within only a few years (Henderson and Hume 1981:144). A treaty signed in 1870 by the Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Thomas Douglas Forsyth established an agreement to maintain and facilitate trade along the route between Srinagar, Leh, and Yarkand (Warikoo 1995: 236-237). The establishment of the so-called "Treaty Road" solidified Ladakh's role as a busy *entrepôt* in trade between South and Central Asia.

Figure 2. Trade routes through Ladakh in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.



The different branches of international Karakorum-Himalayan trade that were conducted in and around Ladakh were extremely varied. While the pashmina trade on the Tibet side and import of *cheras* (a drug) from Turkestan/ Xinjiang are often discussed as separate systems - and can indeed be fruitfully explored as such - they were also linked through their presence in Ladakh's marketplaces. Many of our informants discussed participation in multiple types of trade, and routes, although the Turkestan/ Xinjiang trade reportedly played the most significant role in their economic histories.

ROUTES AND TRANSPORT

Serais or *caravanserais* - spacious buildings in major trading towns such as Leh, Kargil, and Srinagar that were simultaneously used as inns, storage facilities, tax posts, and shops - were significant economic and social centers for North Indian and Central Asian markets. The main *serai* in Leh during this period was representative of these facilities. This two-story building had stables on the first floor for transport animals, which were grouped around a large courtyard with a prayer platform and storage spaces for goods. The

serai had guest rooms with attached kitchens on the second floor. Tall walls surrounded the entire building, and the strong gates at the entrance were locked at night to safeguard the valuables stored inside.

Those who made the trips remember the journey between *serais*, however, as often being dangerous. Ladakh is nestled between some of the highest mountains of the world, and the traders in this region traveled over treacherous terrain. Traders and transporters walked and led animals heavily laden with goods through passes over 13,000 feet high. Former traders reminisced that during rough journeys many of the livestock perished on these mountain passes, and skeletons marked the most heavily traded routes. During winter months, the mountain passes were blocked with snowfall and impassible, although frozen rivers could be used as uneasy highways of travel. During the summer months, traders were more easily able to cross the high passes, but were challenged by rivers engorged by the melted snow. Many travellers then used baskets on pulleys to cross the rivers and ravines.

Former traders in Ladakh recalled other methods for crossing deep rivers as well. In the Kargil region where a number of tributaries meet to flow into the Indus River, the traders commonly used goatskin floats, sewing the skins together and inflating them so that they could be carried by men and tied on horses to float across. In Kharmang, a region now in Pakistan and close to Kargil, there was a famous bridge made of tree roots that had been tied on the opposite side of the river ravine. This bridge was known to be a risky crossing place, and older traders were put into baskets so that more sure-footed men could carry them across safely.

While the Kargil side of Ladakh's route was reported to be so safe that, as one interviewee explained, a frail man of eighty years could travel without worry while carrying bags full of silver, the Central Asian routes to the east of Ladakh were patrolled by nomadic bandits who preyed on smaller groups of travelers. Traders from Ladakh recall hiding their money under the saddles of donkeys to safeguard from these threats. Supernatural threats were also commonly reported by travelers, such as a story told by one trader, who claimed that while he and his brother traveled from Kargil to Leh a spirit that looked like a fire followed alongside them at night. The brothers were frightened by the apparition, urged their horses into a gallop, and outdistanced the spirit.

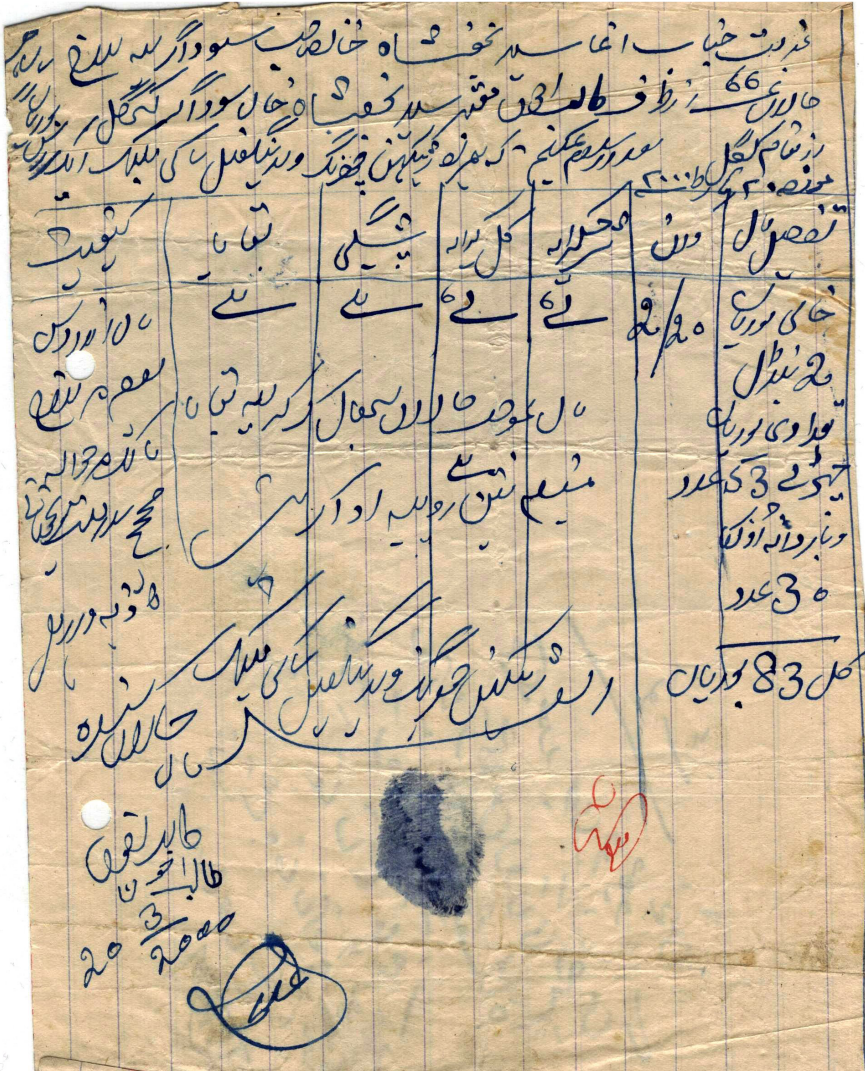
Goods coming to Ladakh from British India during this time period were brought by boat, railroad, truck, and car up to Kashmir;

once the traders reached the high Zoji-la Pass, which needed to be crossed to go into Ladakh, transport choices became more limited. Before the early 1960s, when the Indian army developed a comprehensive regional road system to secure the post-independence borders of India, there were few finished roads in the region. This was due largely to political policy; the British Indian government, in spite of their commercial interest in the Karakorum Pass route through Ladakh, deliberately spent little money on regional road maintenance and did not develop extensive regional travel infrastructures as they had in other parts of India as a preventative measure against possible invasions from the Central Asian routes (Gadru 1973:xix-xxi).

In the absence of paved roads, Ladakhi traders historically depended on different types of domesticated livestock, including donkeys, mules, ponies, horses, camels, yak, and *dzo* 'yak-cow hybrids' (*mdzo* in Wylie) to transport goods through the region. Each animal was considered to have its own particular merits for the task, for example endurance for mules, adaptability for donkeys, the ability to carry large loads for camels, and speed for horses. The availability of transport livestock was linked to certain regions and subsections of the trade routes, dependent on the types of animals that could live in the varied environments of the Himalayan valleys. The Dras area was known for its ponies, *dzo*, and horses, while transporters in the Mulbek area between Kargil and Leh mostly had donkeys and horses.

Leasing transport livestock and providing men (few, if any, women traveled as traders in the system) to handle the animals, was a major source of income for many of the small villages in these areas. In the early twentieth century almost every Mulbek Village household living above the poverty level kept five to six donkeys and horses. The villagers kept these animals to survive. Many of their descendants recalled in interviews that this was the only way they could earn an income with which to buy non-local products such as rice. Most householders aimed to own horses, which could carry more than twice the load of donkeys, and thus earn twice the amount of payment for transport services. These village men who leased and led livestock as transporters for traders were called *kirai kash* or *kiraiyakash*. The *kiraiyakash* were hired for a particular journey in agreements such as those pictured in Figures 3-6.

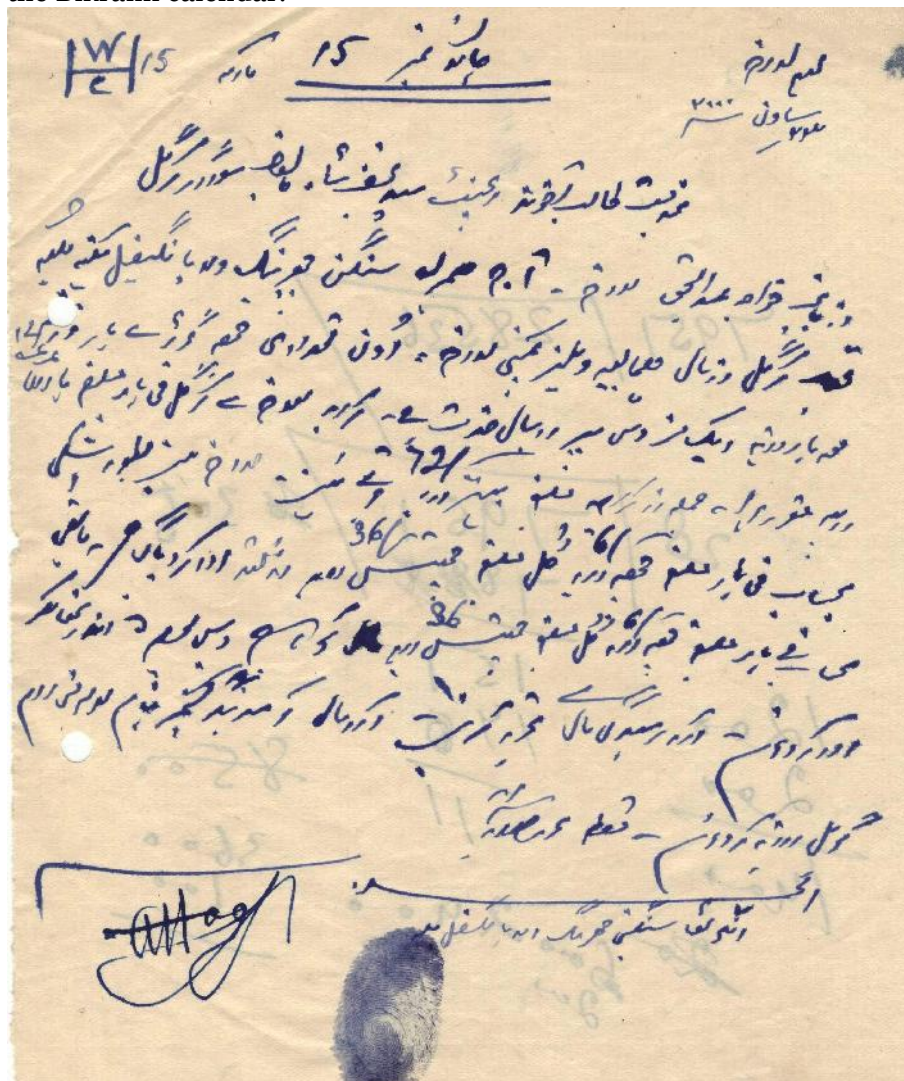
Figure 3. A challan 'trade agreement' from early July 1944, front side. The date is written in the Bikrami calendar, a calendar historically popular in the Punjab region of South Asia. The weight referred to here as 2/20, means that there were two *maund* (one *maund* = just over thirty-seven kilos) and twenty *seer* (one *seer* = just under one kilo). The *bohri* mentioned here are jute sacks.



Respected Sir Agha Sayeed Najab Shah Khan sahib, merchant of Leh, Ladakh. Challan number 66. From Talib Akhon. Respectable Sayeed Najab Shah Khan, merchant Kargil. At Kargil, Date 20 Har 2000. After salaam aleikum, that through Tsaskan Tsering son of Yangphel residents of Mulbek, one bundle of bohri [jute sacks].

Remarks	Balance	Advance	Total Charges	Labour Charges	Weight	Details of Goods
Goods	3 rupees	3 rupees	6 rupees	6 rupees	2/20	Empty bohri
Advance		Leh, Ladakh				2 bundles
Collect the goods and pay the remaining balance amount 3 rupees		Is responsible for handling bags to the owner safe and well				Number of bohri
		Tsaskan Tsering son of Yangphel residents of Mulbek				Small 53 number and 30 provision
Set challan						Total 83 bohri
Talib Akhon						
Date 20-3-2000						
		Talib				
		[signature]				

Figure 5. Challan from early August 1944. This document also uses the Bikrami calendar.



[Himalayan Wool Company Logo] 15 Mark 15 Challan Number 15 Leh, Ladakh 23 Savan 2000

Respected Talib Akhon, Agent [of] Sayeed Najab Shah Khan merchant Kargil, From Kwaja Abdul Hag Ladakh. Through Tsaskan Tsering son of Yangphel residents, Mulbek, Kargil goods of Himalayan Wools Company, Ladakh. Wool quantity six horses.

Details are contained in the load in your service. Charges from Ladakh to Kargil, each load 12 rupees has been fixed. Total amount for the fare 72 rupees. In Ladakh advance, each load 6 rupees, total 36 rupees has been paid.

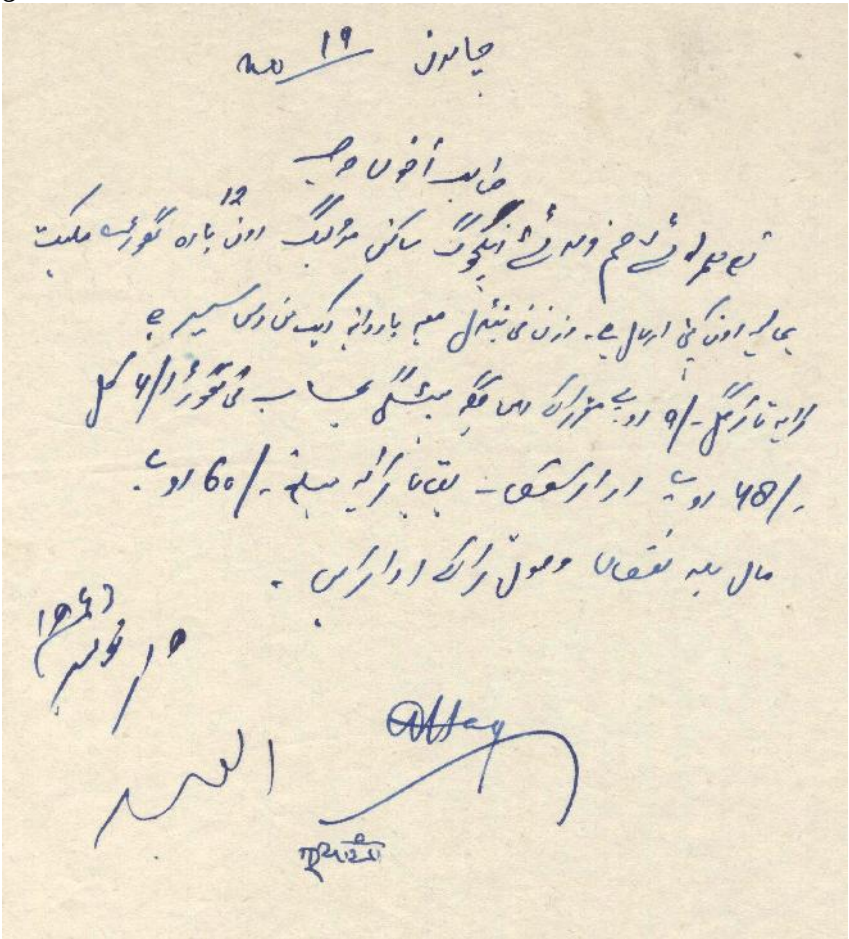
Rest, each load 6 rupees total 36 rupees, send within ten days. And send the receipt. And send goods to Srinagar, Kashmir in the name of Lala Man Ram Goal.

Only document sadar.

[Signature cannot read]

Thumb impression Tsaskan Tsering son of Yangphel, Leh.

Figure 6. A third *challan* with the *kiraiyakash* signature in Bodyig. The weights used are the same specialized system as shown in Figure 3.



No. 19⁹ challan

Talib Akhon Sahib,

Today with Tashi Sonam son of Tashi Angchuck, resident of Mulbek, 12 horses loaded with wool, property Himalaya Wool Company, have been sent. The weight of each bundle including the bag is one maun ten seer. The charge up to Kargil 9/- rupees is fixed.

Advance at this place according to calculation each horse 4 rupees, total 48/- rupees have been paid. Balance charge the sum of 60/- rupees pay after receiving the goods without any damage.

19 Nov 1943

Written by, attested,

Tashi Sonam

In the *challans* (figures 3-6), *kiraiyakash* responsibilities are outlined in highly formal terms. Both the former traders interviewed and the contents of these documents suggest that working as a *kiraiyakash* involved some degree of economic risk. *Kiraiyakash* were contractually obligated to pay the cost of any lost or damaged goods. The dates of the documents and knowledge of trade route limitations in Ladakh indicate that this was temporary seasonal work, and earnings were a sporadic source of income. The implication of this second economic feature of the *kiraiyakash* role is that there were no professional full-time *kiraiyakash* in Ladakh. Perhaps this is why the economic contributions of villagers in Ladakh within the trade system have often been difficult for historians to document.

In spite of the lack of a full-time profession, the *kiraiyakash* did occupy a distinct labor position. The men engaged in this type of trade had repeat interactions with the same traders, as shown in figures 3 and 5, building up business networks of their own in the system. The *kiraiyakash* had to be knowledgeable about the treacherous terrain in Ladakh to effectively transport goods within

the stipulated time period. Thus, while there were no professional *kiraiyakash*, there was certainly a recognizable segment of the population with an identifiable common set of social networks and career skills.

The documents also provide information about the perceived social class of the *kiraiyakash* within Ladakh and the rest of the trade networks. A majority of pre-printed or written formal documents in the archives contained a place for the signature of the traders involved. In contrast, contracts for transport with *kiraiyakash* routinely contained a section that prompted writers for the "Thumbprint of *Kirai Kash*." Informants explained in interviews that this was because it was assumed that *kiraiyakash* were the only uniformly illiterate population regularly engaged in the formal aspects of trade through Ladakh. Many *kiraiyakash* did choose to record their thumbprint in this space, which suggests, but does not prove their illiteracy. A few *challans*, such as that pictured in Figure 6, provide a slightly different view, as they have the written signatures of *kiraiyakash* in Bodyig, the Ladakhi language written in the Tibetan script. These *kiraiyakash* were simply literate in a language other than the most common language of trade documentation, Urdu. A multiplicity of languages, and associated cultural influences are thus demonstrated through these *challans*.

CURRENCIES AND BARTER ITEMS

As seen in figures 7 through 9, the Ladakhi traders used a variety of currencies when trading goods on the Silk Route. This was in part because they were geographically situated between three major economic powers of the nineteenth century - the British, Chinese, and Russian Empires.

Figure 8. Another Central Asian bank promissory note, pictured front and back, from the same group of personal papers.



Figure 9. Russian coins from the same collection.



One of the most common currencies in Ladakhi account books is that of British India, which includes several different denominations, including *rupee*, *anna*, and *paisa*. These forms of money were often associated with trades within Jammu and Kashmir and India (see for example the documents in figures 3-6), although use of the currency was not limited to British territories alone, as British currency was reportedly used in many independent parts of Asia. The credits to major traders' in-house accounts were in the British Indian currency, as seen in the accounts. As discussed later, British currency was also used when traders paid taxes on their goods, some of which were reimbursed upon movement into tariff-free or reduced tariff trade zones, to the British government representatives as seen in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10. Traders were required to pay taxes to the British government when bringing certain regulated items into Ladakh. The tax paid was refunded once the items were registered as imported to the rest of British India by colonial customs officers outside Ladakh. This 1937 request for reimbursement is one of many such documents found in these archives. The customs reimbursement process was reportedly time-consuming and there was an entire class of traders who dealt in buying customs receipts at a discount to make a profit by working towards their reimbursement as discussed later.

محضو بر تن جوئنت کمشنر صاحب لداخ

جناب عالی

کذارش می۔ کہ مندرجہ ذیل انوائس لداخ می یا س کروا کر جناب کی خدمت میں پیش کی
جانی می۔ براہ میروانی اس رقم کا چک میں نام پر روانہ کر دیجیے۔

انوائس نمبر	نام پورٹ	تاریخ	وائس رقم
3423	کراچی	6/5/37	19/2/-

عروضہ نیما ز

تحریر

/ محمد علی حاجی /

Your Majesty British Joint Commissioner Sahib, Ladakh

Respected Sir,

Requesting that the following written invoice for passing in Ladakh, presenting in your service sir. Most kindly a check of this amount send in my name.

Withdrawal Amount	Date	Address	Invoice Number
19 rupees, 2 annas, 0 paise	May 6th, 1937	Karachi	3423

Written

Offering Representation

/ Mohammed Ali Haji /

Standardized goods prices were also often in British colonial currency as shown in Figure 11 below. Such price lists were circulated throughout the Ladakhi routes.

Figure 11. Common goods rates (marked in rupees/ annas/ paisa) on the South Asian branch of the Silk Route in 1944, monitored by the British colonial government.

The following are the average Rates according to the joint commissioners calculation: =

Raw silk ...	Rs. 18/- Per seer
Namda (ordinary)	Rs. 3/8/- Per sq. ft
Namda (coloured) & Embroidered	5/8/- Per Piece
Carpets ...	1/4/- Per ft
Silk cloth ...	6/- Per seer.
Kham	1/4/- Per Piece
Art silk ...	19/12/- Per Piece
woollen Blankets.	5/- Per Piece
woollen yarn.	1/- Per seer
woakhan Putton	7/8/- Per Piece
Pipaks	1/- Per seer
Tukhi chakman	7/8/- Per Piece
Kuchi chakman	7/8/- Per Piece
Represents 25% Reduction in 1943 Rates as no figures are available for previous years.	
Russian Rice goods. Rs. 100/- Per Mond	
Rs. 125/- Per bundle. S.J.C. del.	S.B. J.C. del.
S.J.C. del.	S.B. J.C. del.
18/9/44	18/9/44

Trade and travel in Central Asia, however, often involved Russian and Chinese currencies. Many of the Central Asian traders used the type of bank drafts, or promissory notes drawn on Chinese

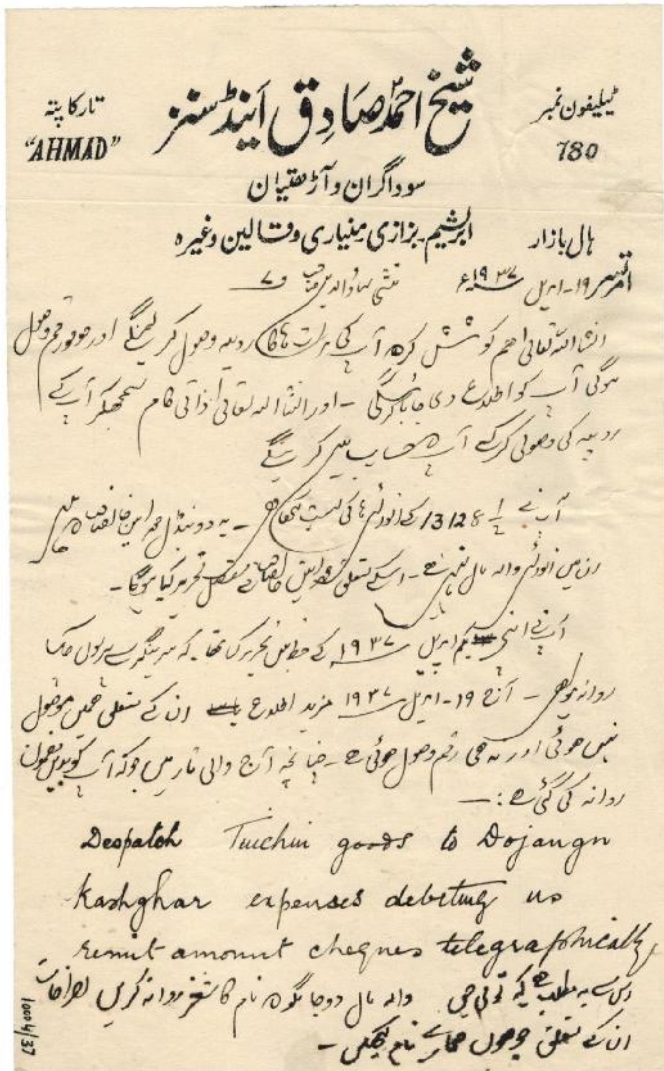
banks featured in Figure 8. These notes were considered unreliable, however, as political turmoil in the region often caused some banks to fail. Even government notes could become worthless in the event of a political coup. Some of the trader's descendants who were interviewed recalled playing with Central Asian bank notes that were stacked in their houses, including the ones pictured here, as their grandfather had decided the notes were worthless and consigned them to the dust bin. Russian coins traveled farther than paper money, and were not common currencies in Ladakh.

To avoid the vulnerabilities of these currencies, many Ladakhis accepted other items with relatively fixed values in exchange for goods and services from Central Asian traders. These included such precious metals as gold and silver, as well as semi-precious pearls and turquoise. Some of our older informants recounted seeing Central Asian traders who relied on such items when they traveled further than Ladakh, a common occurrence as many of them passed through northern India on the way to their *Haj* pilgrimage in Mecca. These travelers planned on traveling through a number of countries, and thus could not rely on a single currency. These traders would also use the Mexican silver dollar, which had very high silver content, as a common bartering item.

The economics of this system depended on the quick and reliable spread of information. Ladakhi traders depended on accurate and detailed information in order to conduct their business effectively. Price lists and requests such as those featured in Figure 11, were crucial to ensure that they were able to make a profit moving between the different markets. The postal and telegraph systems were both used frequently for the purpose of inquiring about trade information. As demonstrated in Figure 12 below, the postal and telegraph systems were considered complementary forms of communication for these purposes.

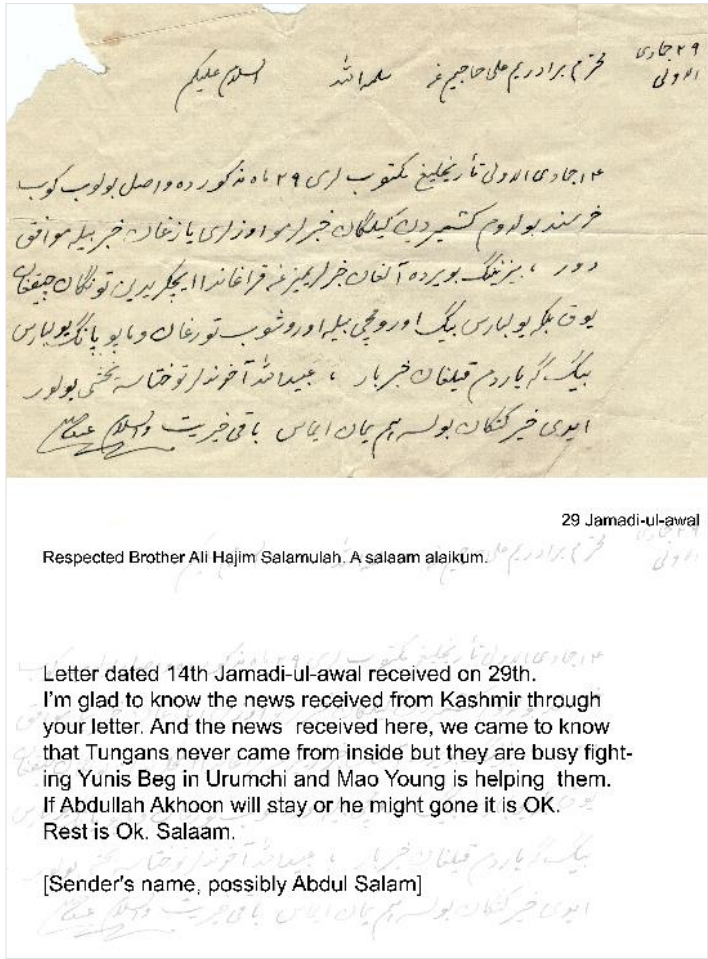
Figure 12. Translation: "If God willing we will try our best to collect your money and will inform you accordingly. And if God willing we will collect your money as our personal affairs. You have written about the invoices of 13128 1/2. These two bundles are of Mohammed Amin Khan sahib. But these goods are not mentioned in the invoices. About this Mohammed Amin Khan sahib may have written you in details. You have mentioned in your letter dated 1 April 1937 that the cheque is dispatched from Srinagar. Today 19 April 1937 we did not get any more information nor did we get any amount. Today we sent a telegram mentioning as under:

"Dispatch Tuchin goods to Dojangn Kashghar expenses debiting us remit amount cheques telegrams." [Repeats same telegram message in Urdu]."



There were other forms of information that were passed along as well. Requests for and responses regarding political events were common topics in letters, such as that in Figure 13 below, between traders concerned about the stability of their businesses.

Figure 13. Ladakhi traders were sent political information to keep abreast of the current events that could affect their trade. This letter features news about unrest from Central Asia. The date is written in the Hijri calendar; as there is no clear year it is difficult to translate the month into the Roman calendar, although Jamadi-ul-awwal is the fifth month of the Hijri calendar. If this letter dates from the mid 1930s as the events discussed within suggest, then Jamadi-ul-awwal occurred sometime in the summer.



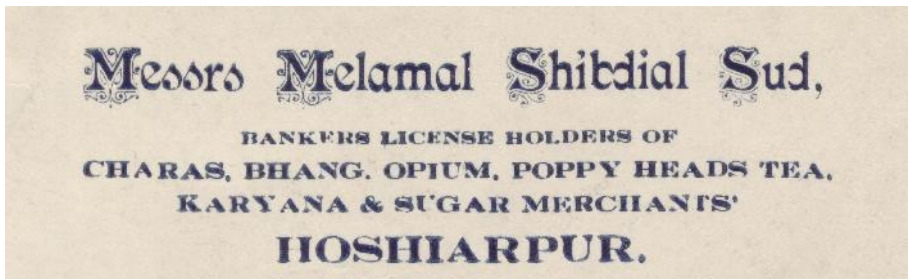
Few of the formal trade documents reflect the informal bartering that was also common between long-distance Silk Route traders and villagers, as well as within the local markets of Ladakh. Yet these exchanges occurred frequently and, according to interviews,

villagers working as *kiraiyakash* often depended on these exchanges to supplement their household resources. One former trader recalled that nomads from the Chang Tang region of Ladakh approached him with offers to bring items from their flocks such as *pashmina*, fine goat hair, or locally mined salt. The nomads would ask to trade these items for agricultural goods such as barley and wheat, exchanging the items on an agreed upon scale such as one full measure of wheat for four or five measures of salt. From the region of Skardo, long-distance traders sometimes brought items such as apricots, raisins, and mulberries. In the Leh market, small-scale traders from all parts of Ladakh met and exchanged items directly to turn, for example, their apricots into wool and salt. These local products contributed to the diversity of commodities sold along the historical Silk Route.

COMMODITIES OF THE LADAKHI SILK ROUTE

A common fallacy about trade along the Silk Route is that it was primarily trade in silk, as the name implies. As many scholars have recognized, the Silk Route was actually a trading conduit for varied items, and included both the expected high-value long distance commodities (e.g., silk, silver, drugs, etc.) and the aforementioned local products (see for example Bray 2005, Rizvi 1983, Rizvi 1999, Spengen 2000).

Figure 14. Letterhead from one of the more damaged papers in the archives. The legal trade of drugs from Central Asia was a high value and high profile portion of the trade through Ladakh. The drug trade was carefully regulated and taxed by the British in South Asia. This process was a significant source of income for the colonial government. This is demonstrated, in part, in the contents of figures 26 and 27 later in this article.



Records and artifacts from early twentieth century Ladakh indicate that the types of goods travelling along the Silk Route were even more varied than we might expect using this model. Long distance commodities could be smaller, low-value items that still may have been competitive in the retail market as prestige items, such as the cigarettes from the box in Figure 15, the bottle of British manufactured shoe polish in Figure 16, the tin of tobacco in Figure 17, or the packet of Japanese menthol in Figure 18. All four were marketed in early twentieth century Ladakh. These expensive luxury items were purchased and used by elite traders and their families, such as the Khan family in Leh and the Munshi family in Kargil.

Figure 15. The front of a cigarette box from the time period. Neptune Navy Cut were produced by British American Tobacco (BAT), headquartered in London. These cigarettes were most probably manufactured by BAT in an early twentieth century factory in Shanghai between 1902 (the time the company was established) and 1953 when BAT's factories in China were forcibly closed.

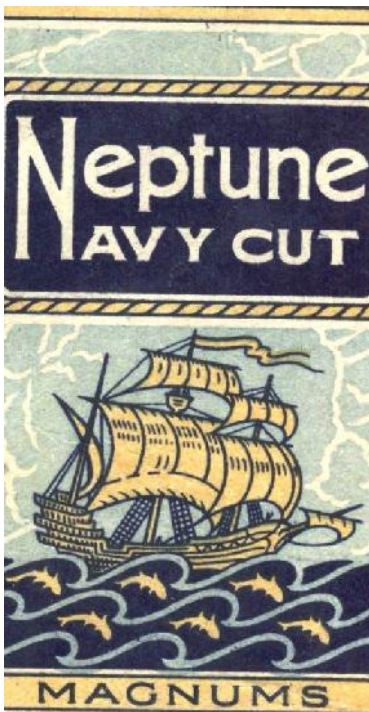


Figure 16. Shoe polish from London available for purchase in the early twentieth century Ladakhi market. It dates to the time the Chiswick Polish Co. Ltd. was established in 1913 and its transformation into Chiswick Products Ltd. in 1930.



Figure 17. Tobacco produced in Richmond, Virginia shortly after the formation of the American Tobacco Co. in 1890. The use of the Allen & Ginter name (a company taken over by American Tobacco Co.) and style of the tin suggest its manufacture dates from the early 1890s.

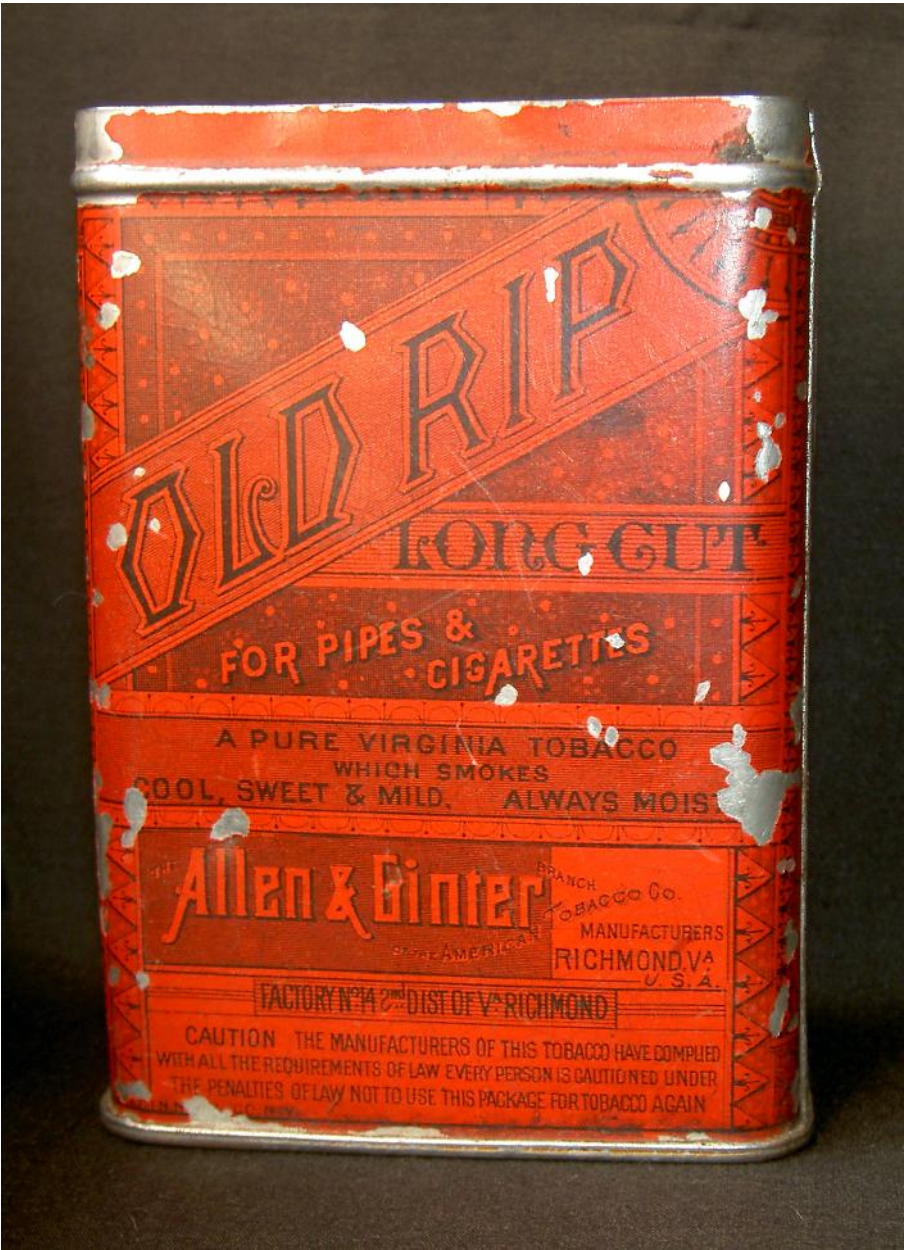


Figure 18. The presence of this packet suggests that the early twentieth century international trade through the region connected diverse parts of Asia.




Elite consumer goods ordered specially for the traders and their families were often included in caravan packs, as seen with the

Gillette blades in Figure 19, the potato mashers and hot water bottles of Figure 20, and the food items in Figure 21.

Figure 19. Unique mail order items traveled with more common goods in caravans along the Silk Route.

Telegrams : "Whiteaways, Calcutta."

Telephone : 5204. P.O. Box 8925.



WHITEAWAY, LAIDLAW & CO., LIMITED
INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND
DRAPERS • HOUSE FURNISHERS AND GENERAL OUTFITTERS

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KUALA LUMPUR
IPOH
TAIPING

INDIA
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
SINLA
DANDELING

KENYA
NAIROBI
MOMBASA
SLOOKEY
NAKURU
KITALE

ARGENTINE
BUENOS AIRES
ROSARIO
CORUGUA
MAR DEL PLATA

CHINA
SHANGHAI
HONG KONG
TIENTSIN

ALL COMMUNICATIONS MUST BE ADDRESSED TO THE COMPANY.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE No.K/320

H. Shamsud-Din Khan, Esq:
Ladakh.

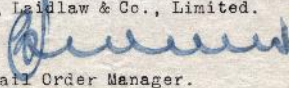
CALCUTTA 16th March 1942

Dear Sir,

15/2/42

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the
and to advise the despatch per **V.P.P.**
of the Goods as noted below and trust they will reach you safely
and give satisfaction.

We remain,
Yours obediently,
Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co., Limited.


Mail Order Manager.

1	Pkt. Gillette blades	1	4	-
1	Brooch	3	8	-
			Rs.	4	12	-
		Packing	..	-	3	-
		Postage	..	-	7	-
			Rs.	5	6	-

We regret being sold out of J3428 brooch, we are sending nearest
and trust this will suit.

TW

Figure 20. Hot water bottles and potato mashers were more unique items that only wealthy families were able to afford in early twentieth century Ladakh.

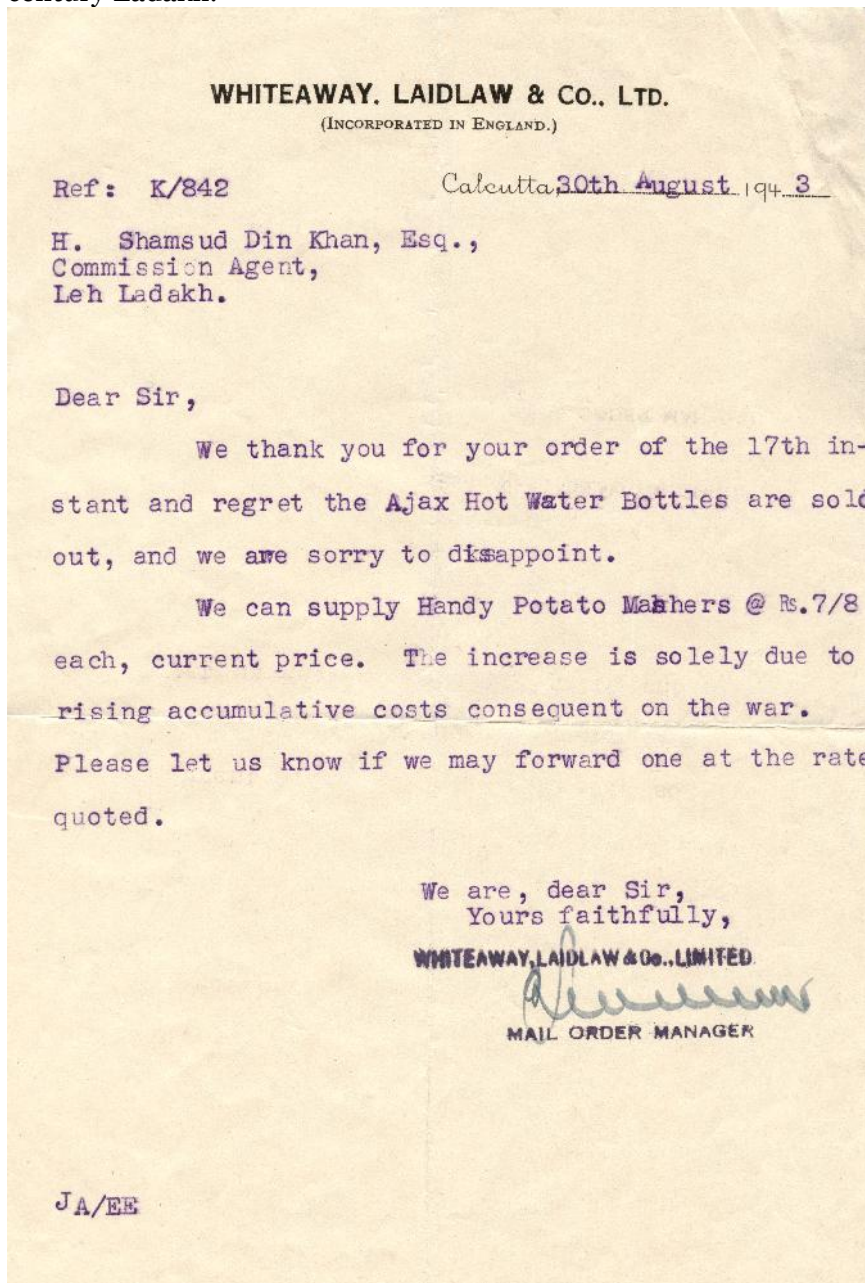



Figure 21. This final example of luxury goods brought for personal consumption suggests changing tastes in Ladakhi cooking. While Enos Fruit Salts was often marketed as a health item when invented in the 1850s, and were reportedly used as such in Ladakh, they were also used for baking in certain southern Indian foods.

180....Rs.7/6/- 181....Rs.7/5/-

DAVID & SONS. 

TELE. ADD. DAVID'S. CAL. ESTD. 1884.

Wine & General Merchants.
26, SOUTH ROAD, ENTALLY.

Invoice No. **183V.P.** Calcutta, **12 AUG 1939** 93


Account **V.P.** Order No. & Date **21A of 10.8.39.**

Name **Mr. M. Bahauddin Khan,**
Postal Address **Shamsuddin Khan,**
Trader, Leh Ladakh,
Leh Ladakh P.O., Kashmir.

Booking Station..... mode of despatch **By Post**
Special Instructions..... **on 11.8.39**

Quantity.	PARTICULARS.	Rs.	As.	P.
3	large bottles Enos Fruit Salt	5	7	-
2	bottles Rose's Lime Juice Cordial	3	12	-
	2 boxes packing.....	-	14	-
	4½ seers postage.....	2	7	-
	4 do. do.	2	3	-
Total Rs.		14	11	-
		E. & O. E.		

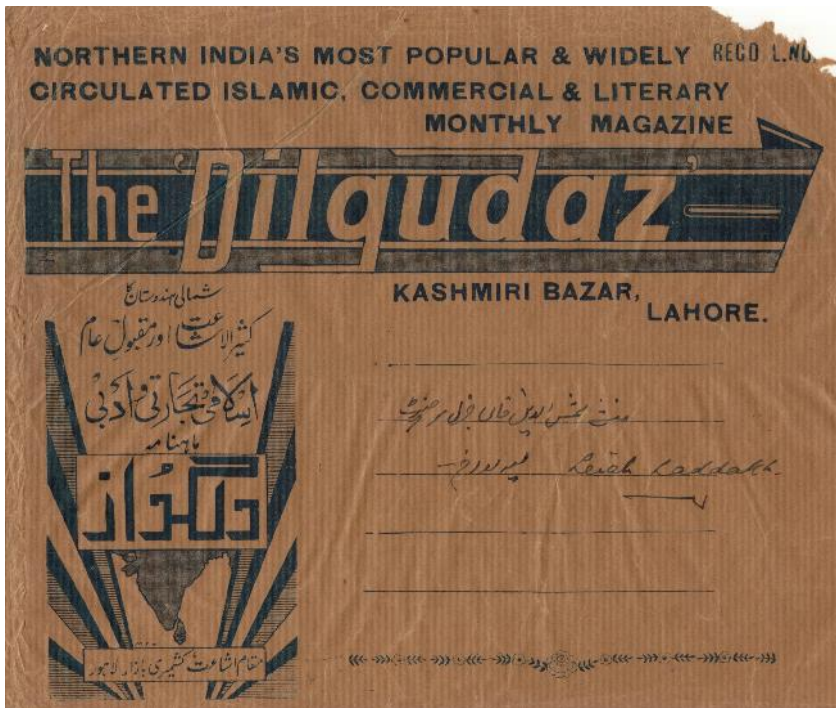
Rupees Fourteen, and annas eleven only.

Per Pro  **DAVID & SONS.**
Signature.....

N.B.—To maintain credit facilities, customers are requested to settle their bills at the earliest convenience, without our recourse to constant reminders.

Elite Ladakhi traders were cosmopolitan consumers of goods that were not commonly available to the rest of the population in Ladakh. These traders and their families, had access to varied and expensive items and reportedly engaged in very public displays of their wealth. For example, several consultants referred to wealthy traders in the early twentieth century who sent their dry cleaning on the backs of animals, over the mountains to Srinagar, and received their clean laundry a few months later in return. These traders were not only engaged in elite consumerism, they also had access to news and ideas that circulated in a privileged cultural sphere in north India through magazines such *Dilgudaz* 'Heart-Melting' pictured in Figure 22. *Dilgudaz* was a literary magazine edited by Abdul Halim Sharar, a famous figure in Urdu literature during the time period, who explored many issues associated with Indian identity and colonialism in his work (Naim 2012).

Figure 22. The envelope for the *Dilgudaz* magazine, sent to Shamsuddin Khan on 25 June 1937.



In addition to these unexpected elite luxury items, the Silk Route through Ladakh was a conduit for the flow of both raw goods and finished items, making possible a complex circular pattern of trade. For example, wool from British India and dyes from Germany were traded into Central Asia to make carpets that would in turn be exported to Europe and the United States.

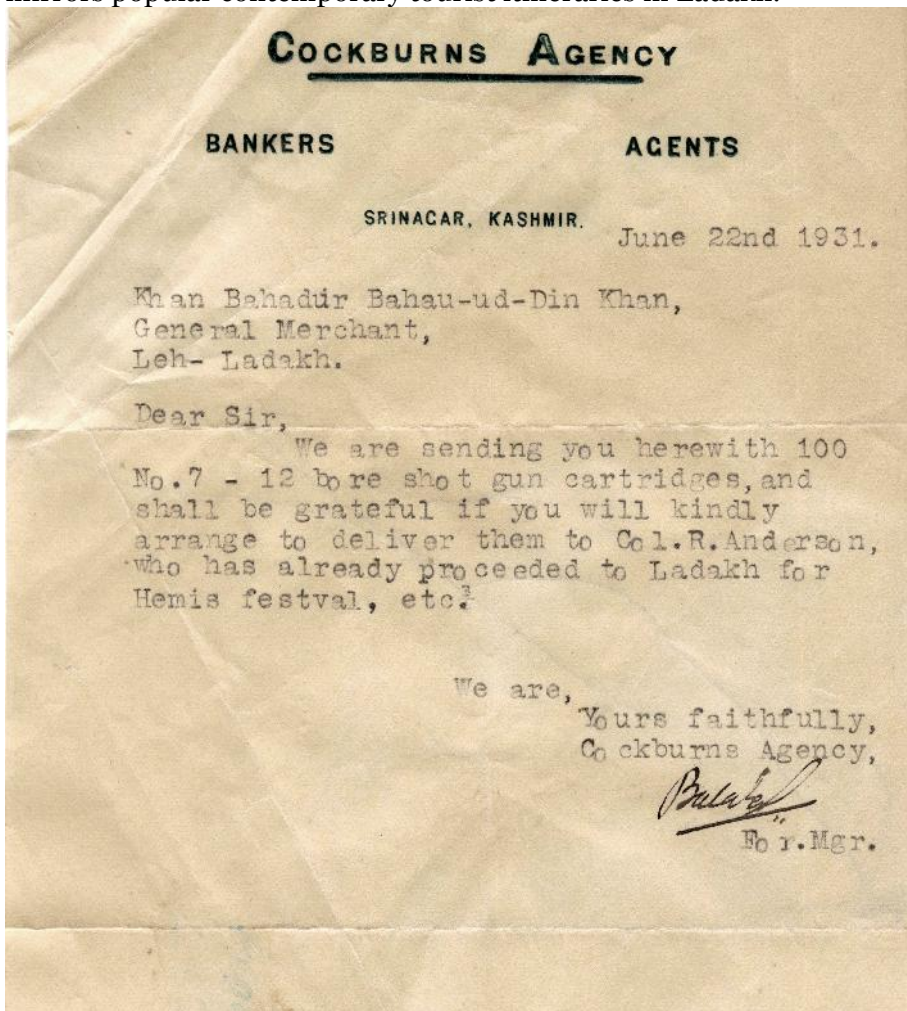
Circulation of these goods highlights the complexity of the networks of Ladakhi trade in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They truly represent global commerce. Joining together the documents and material culture of Ladakh's Silk Route, we gain a deeper understanding of the international trade that flowed through Ladakh. For example, Gillette blades found in the material culture of the Kargil collections are given provenance in the Figure 19 document from a British dry goods purveyor in Calcutta. The sum of goods either present or alluded to in the Ladakhi trade archives and artifacts hint as to how global trade might have both shaped and been shaped by Ladakhi lifestyles.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF TRADE

Another major force in both the economic and social lives of Ladakhi traders was that of the British colonial government in South Asia that played an active role in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ladakh through the auspices of the Dogra regime in Kashmir.

Ladakhi traders had various types of interactions with British colonial officials in Ladakh. While they were subject to the power of these officials, and sometimes had to write petitions as supplications, they also dealt professionally with the British in many capacities. The Ladakhi traders with access to a wide variety of goods in the global marketplace, acted as agents and purveyors of required items for British officers visiting the region. In Figure 23, for example, we see Ladakhi traders acting as a part of a network of commercial agents working within the colonial economy.

Figure 23. Col. Anderson's 1931 attendance at Hemis, a religious festival associated with one of the Buddhist monasteries in Ladakh, mirrors popular contemporary tourist itineraries in Ladakh.



Certain Ladakhi traders occupied an elite status in relation to colonial rule in Ladakh. Ladakh's international traders had become wealthy, powerful local figures that interacted with British colonial officials socially. At times, they profited from their social connections with the British. In the letter of Figure 24 we can see an example of the ways in which social and political relationships between British colonial officers and Ladakhi elites overlapped.

Figure 24. One letter, front and back. The author, JW Thomson-Glover, was a distinguished British officer with a long career in the British colonial empire. He fought in Egypt in 1915 as a lieutenant of the 92nd Punjabi Regiment. From 1923 to 1924, he was the British political agent for the South Waziristan region (now northwestern Pakistan). He was appointed as the British Consul Officer in Kashgar from 1934-1936, and acted as a resident in Kashmir sometime prior to 1938. The text reads: "My dear Bahauddin, Thank you for your letter of 11th February. I don't know whether I will get to Leh this summer or not. I would like to - have you any good pony for polo. If we come Mrs. Thomson Glover will want to play. I saw your son when I arrived here he does not look very fit - S.C.O. complained you had removed your package, drawn a refund, & kept them outside of Leh.. Is this what other traders have also done.. Yours sincerely, J.W. Thomson-Glover".

KASHMIR RESIDENCY.

My dear Babauddin.

I thank you for your letter.

11th February:- I don't know

whether I will get to Srin

in summer or not. I would

like to - Have you any good

pony for Polo. If we come

Mrs. Thurman Glover will want to
play:- I saw you son when I

arrived here he does not look
very fit -
S.C.O. complained you
had removed your packages
drawn a refund & kept them
inside Leh..
Is this what other traders
have also done?"
Yours sincerely
JW Thomson-Glover

This letter was written by JW Thomson-Glover, the British Resident in Kashmir at the time of writing. His wife resided with him at most of his postings, and the couple enjoyed an active social life in the Himalayan region. His discussion of polo ponies for his wife, and concern about Bahauddin Khan's son in Figure 24, suggest that the two families were personally acquainted and had socialized with each other. The second part of the letter that reports on the complaints of the SCO (State Customs Officer), shows that the social relationship

was complex. Khan's personal relationship and correspondence with Thomson-Glover allowed him to keep abreast of significant political developments, and in this particular case to discuss trade matters related to his business directly and unofficially with government officials. The direct question that Thomson-Glover poses to Khan at the end of his letter "Is this what other traders have also done," can be read in two ways. It could be a confidential inquiry from one friend to another about how business was being conducted, or a command for more information from a colonial official to trader dependent on that official's benevolence, i.e., a demand for Khan to justify his behavior. A draft of the letter Khan issued in response, not pictured here, suggests the latter interpretation in both form and content. The form, a typed draft that would later be corrected and re-typed, contrasts with that of Thomson-Glover's brief, handwritten, and informally composed letter. A number of linguistic choices in the response draft also indicate status imbalance, including the use of formal titles such as "mem Sahib" for Mrs. Thomson-Glover, and his request that Thomson-Glover consider him as part of a group of "poor traders" victimized by the SCO in question.

To fully understand the complexity of the colonial relationship, however, we need to consider this letter in relation to a body of colonial documents, including petition letters to British officers such that in Figure 25 below.

Figure 25. A petition to the British High Commissioner from Bahauddin Khan's son, Shamsuddin Khan, dated September 12, 1944. It reads, "Application for Mercy. Copy. To The British Joint Commissioner Leh (Ladakh). Sir, With due deference and humble submission I beg to lay down a few lines for your kind consideration. With reference to your order No F644(36)/142 of 4-9-44 I have been asked to deposit Rs. 3833/- on account of eleven bundles belonging to Ali Haji and one bundle to Nur Haji. I hereby beg to pay the demanded money in full. Being a raw hand in business dealings due to my immaturity ~~I have~~ and being not well in English and Urdu, such mistake was committed due sheer to my ignorance. ~~The sentence of punishment for the sale of raw silk-Raw-silk for which the sentence of punishment was passed against me which belonged to Aksakal [illegible name] and was under trust for in connexion of which being with in the know of and the receipt for which was given by my later father was written in the name of Ali Haji & Nur Haji.~~ Because all these business dealings were executed in the lifetime of my late father and because I never knew anything in details in

connexion with the same, I through my ignorance made contradictory statements for which I most humbly beg your goodself to be excused. I ever pray for your long life and prosperity. Of 12-9-44. I beg to remain sir, Your most obedient servant, Haji Shamsuddin Khan Leh. Ladakh"

Application for Mercy Copy.

The British Joint-Commissioner,
Leh (Ladakh).

Sir,

With due deference and humble submission I beg to lay down a few lines for your kind consideration:

1. With reference to your order No. ^{F644(86)}₁₄₂ of 4-9-44 I have been asked to deposit Rs 3888/- on account of seven bunnels belonging to Ali Haji and one bunnel to Nur Haji. I hereby beg to pay the demanded money in full.
2. Being a raw hand in business dealings due to my immaturity, I have and being not well in English and Urdu, such mistake was committed due sheer to my ignorance.

~~the sentence of punishment for the sale of raw sets~~
Raw sets for which the sentence of punishment was passed against me which belonged to Akhmal Chama and was under the trust for the commission of which I was not in the terms of this receipt for which was given by my late father was written in the name of Ali Haji Nur Haji.

Because all these business dealings were executed in the lifetime of my late father and because I never saw anything in detail in connexion with the same, I through my ignorance made contradictory statements for which I most humbly beg your goodself to be excused.

Ever pray for your long life & prosperity.

12-9-44.

I beg to remain
sir,
your most obedient servant,
Haji Shamsuddin
Leh. Ladakh

This document reveals a very different set of power relations. Shamsuddin Khan, who signs off his letter to the British Joint Commissioner in Figure 25, "I beg to remain, Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant," was clearly not in the same social position to colonial powers as his father, Bahauddin Khan, who signed his draft "Your[s] Sincerely" in other documents.

THE COLONIAL ROLE IN THE LADAKHI SILK ROUTE TRADE

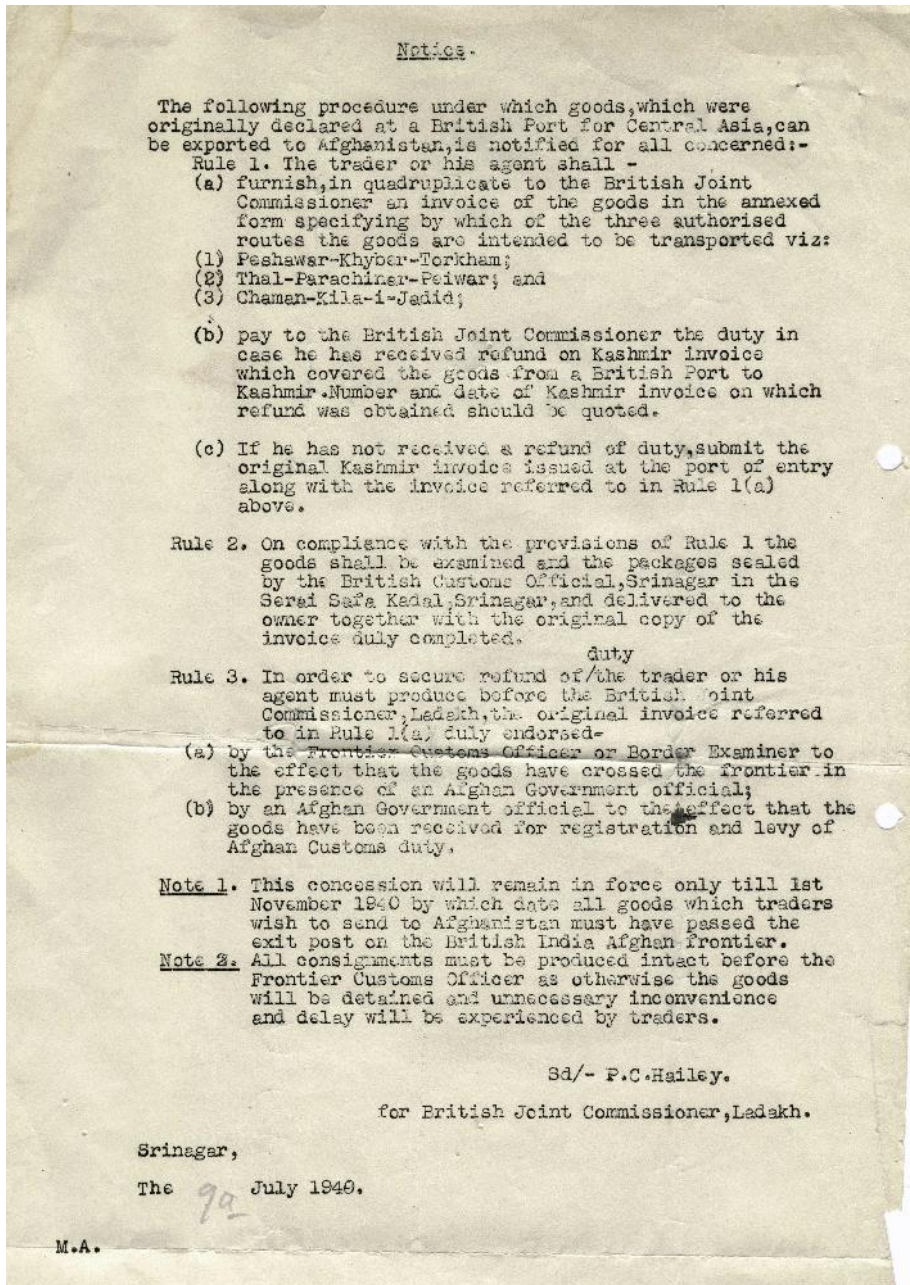
The ripples from the British Indian political economy link Ladakhi history to that of the rest of South Asia, despite it being part of the native state of Jammu and Kashmir. The early twentieth-century British colonial government of India faced numerous challenges to its political power in South Asia. By 1919, the British began responding to public criticism by allowing local administrations to use the money collected from land revenue, which meant significant losses of revenue that had previously supported the British colonial economy (Tomlinson 1982). While land revenue was not collected in Ladakh, which was part of a "native state," this colonial loss of revenue impacted the region as it took place in an already volatile regional market and, between 1900 and 1935, colonial market prices for common goods fluctuated widely, destabilizing early twentieth-century South Asian markets (Roy 1995).

The market fluctuations would have added to Ladakhi traders' need to inform partners of the latest market prices, as discussed. Direct British management of South Asian trade in general declined and Indian owned local firms gained a great deal of power in this nationalist market as Mahatma Ghandi's *swadeshi* movement encouraged consumers to purchase local products. Ladakhi traders experienced these changes through their partner firms in other parts of South Asia, such as in Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, and Lahore. The British colonial government later increased import revenues in British India to recover the land revenue losses (Tomlinson 1982). The frequent changes in revenue laws were enacted in Ladakh as well, as evidenced by some of the government announcements below. The subsequent control of the import of foreign goods provoked further resistance in colonial South Asia and in Ladakh, may have been the beginning of a shadow economy in which traders bought and sold customs invoices.

The buying and selling of customs invoices was possible because of a late nineteenth-century agreement between the British

government and the government of Jammu and Kashmir to free trans-Karakorum trade between British India and Chinese Central Asia of import taxes in an attempt to increase colonial trade. Separate, higher tax rates were established for goods that were traded within Ladakh from either India or China, in contrast to those that were moved through Ladakh between British India and Chinese Central Asia. Traders or agents acting on their behalf, had to pay the higher customs taxes on packages when entering Jammu and Kashmir. The British government regularly updated customs laws to meet the needs of their changing empire, as evidenced in the new rules for the Afghanistan border in 1940 that were posted in the public notice featured below in Figure 26.

Figure 26. A colonial government announcement dated 9 July 1940.



Customs control required a great deal of government infrastructure, as all goods had to be processed by border officials. As alluded to in Figure 26, the goods that were designated for transport only, not for sale in Ladakh, were sealed by government officials with a stamp to prohibit any tampering. In the trading documents these were referred to as "stamped packages." The contents and value of each package were noted, and payment was based on a rate per unit or a percentage of value. The traders were then issued customs invoices and receipts for the amount of taxes they had paid. Once the goods reached the government customs check-post at their point of departure from Jammu and Kashmir, the sealed packages were produced to prove all the goods were still in transit. The British Joint Commissioner provided customs refund forms that could be cashed by the traders to regain money they had paid earlier when bringing goods into Jammu and Kashmir. Thus earlier in Figure 10, we see a trader requesting a "Withdrawal Amount" to refund the customs taxes that had been paid on an item transported through Ladakh. Before submitting this request, the trader had the item assessed by government inspectors who signed the invoice to verify that the package had arrived intact in the British Indian city of Karachi. Another trader could also be designated as the representative for customs and duty purposes, as demonstrated below in Figure 28.

Figure 27. Packages with customs duties and the attendant paperwork.

No. F.353 (111)/40.

O R D E R.

Dated Srinagar, the 31st July 1940.

Sabir Haji, Central Asian Trader, Srinagar, is permitted to bring back from Ladakh to the Sari Safa Kadal, Srinagar, the consignment covered by the following invoices:-

<u>Invoice No.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Port.</u>
1057. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	13-7-37.	Bombay.
1260. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	31-7-37.	"
1287. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	3-8-37.	"
1296. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	-do-	"
1379. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	10-8-37.	"
1314. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	5-8-37.	"
1315. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	-do-	"
1275. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	2-8-37.	"
1511. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	16-8-37.	"
1533. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	17-8-37.	"
12437. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	20-8-37.	Karachi.
12438. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	-do-	"
2599. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	29-437.	"
25066. $\frac{115}{x} \frac{2}{2}$	8-2-37.	"

The trader has deposited Rs.3454/1/- being the duty of the above mentioned consignment.

Sd. P.O. Haily,
for British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh.

Copy to:-

1. Sabir Haji, Serai Safa Kadal, Srinagar.
2. The Inspector, Customs & Excise, Srinagar.
3. The Inspector General, Customs & Excise, Srinagar.
4. The Deputy Inspector, Customs, Serai Safa Kadal, Srinagar.
5. The Special Chattras ~~Inspector~~ Officer, Leh-Ladakh.
6. The British Customs Official, Srinagar.

for information.

By order
Sd. S.K. Ayangar,
for British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh.

(True Copy.)

Figure 28. A legal affidavit written on stamped paper, which was used for official purposes.

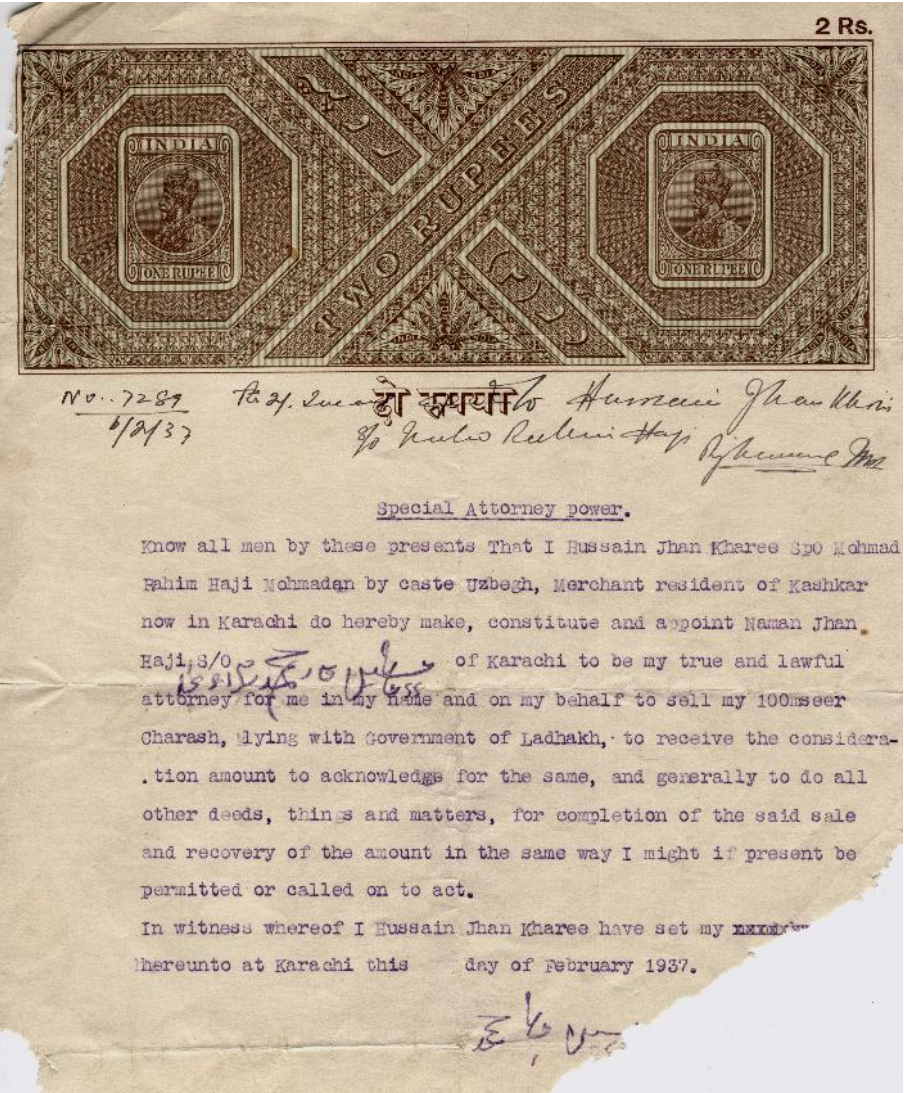


Figure 29. A stamped paper heading, printed in London, as shown in inset. Thomas De La Rue is currently, according to their company profile online, the "world's largest commercial banknote printer and passport manufacturer." They were suppliers of stamps for the East India Company since the mid-nineteenth century.



This system depended heavily on the meticulous accounting and communication methods detailed in the previous section, as traders had to provide detailed invoices when each package was inspected. The note for a customs refund request in Figure 10 is particularly interesting, as the Urdu in this document was typed on a typewriter. Similar to the typewritten English in other documents, this document provides evidence of additional types of communications technologies used in the Ladakhi trading system.

CONCLUSION

The fluctuation of prices within the Indian market was of central concern to British officers in Ladakh. This is why in Figure 11 we see that the British Joint Commissioner reported on rate changes regularly. In this case, a detailed list of various cloth goods and the expected rates for each type by either a standard piece size, standard bundle size, square foot, and yard is given. Contrary to what we might expect to see in the 1944 wartime economy, the author notes in this document that the commodities' rates had actually decreased since the previous year. The particularly high rates for Russian cloth mentioned in the Figure 12 document indicate how colonial taxes

influenced the trade of foreign commodities in British India and Central Asia.

As global markets shifted throughout the twentieth century, the elite Ladakhi traders also faced a gradual growth in political constraints on their ability to trade. The borders between China and India began to close, and many traders could not contact their partners in Yarkend and Kashgar, and thus faced numerous legal problems. The petition written by Shamsuddin Khan in Figure 25 offers us a view of the frustration of Ladakhi traders as they dealt with colonial responses to this crisis. By 1944, Shamsuddin Khan was left with a number of goods that were unclaimed by his trading partners. The "unfavorable circumstances that arose in Central Asia" that he mentions refer to the political unrest in Chinese Central Asia (also alluded to in Figure 14) that later led to the exodus of Ladakhi traders from Kashgar.

Shamsuddin Khan's partners in Central Asia could not travel to claim their goods or communicate how to dispose of those goods, thus Jammu and Kashmir state government representatives confiscated the goods claiming wrongful management of properties as responded to in Figure 25. This breakdown in communications and travel of the 1940s Ladakhi trade networks was part of geo-political changes that signified less profitable circumstances for trade relations between many of the Ladakhi and Central Asian traders. This was the beginning of the end of the trans-Himalayan "Silk Route" trade through Ladakh. These documents thus represent a significant moment of change in both regional and global histories, as well as the socio-political terrain in which these changes were located.

The risks of late nineteenth and early twentieth century trans-Himalayan trade could be great, whether facing the physical difficulties of transport through the mountains, the bureaucratic challenges of colonial government paperwork, or the shifting prices in a high stakes market. Traders engaged in this risky endeavor with the promise of access to elite status and wealth. The traders occupied complex social positions, forming their own cosmopolitan community that interacted with the British colonial officers socially, beyond purely economic and political dealings, yet they were still bound by colonial power structures. The material culture mentioned in the documents and found in the museum collection, suggests these traders were sophisticated consumers of global products, and participants in transnational networks of knowledge. In sum, these sources provide a window through which to view a way of life that

would drastically change later within the next few decades. As trade responded to increased regional instability it slowly tapered until 1950, when the borders between South and Central Asia were closed to legal trade. The end of these vast trade networks signified a major shift in global economic flows and also fundamentally changed personal circumstances, forcing transnational traders to develop new livelihoods and adjust to the altered socio-economic networks.

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NAMUYI TIBETAN *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴* RITUALS AND ORAL CHANTS

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ABSTRACT

ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ (b. 1939) is a Namuyi *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴* - a traditional Namuyi religious practitioner/ specialist - who chants and conducts religious rituals. He lives and practices in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. This article introduces *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴* ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ and the many hours of his oral materials recorded by Libu Lakhi in 2009 that are archived at <http://tinyurl.com/lgf3row>. In addition, aspects of Namuyi religion are described, including terms of mountain deities, ill omens and taboos, the *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴*, ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴, chants, and a personal account of a ritual done in Dashui Village, Minsheng Township, Xichang City, Sichuan Province in March 2013. An appendix, seven photographs, and a diagram provide additional detail.

KEYWORDS

ṣi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴, *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴*, chants, cultural preservation, digital archives, Liangshan, mountain deities, Namuyi, Sichuan, Tibetan religion

INTRODUCTION¹

This article focuses on ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ (b. 1939), a traditional religious practitioner, and his oral texts in the larger context of Namuyi (na⁵³mzi⁵³, Namuzi) Tibetan religious belief and ritual.² The Namuyi have a population of about 5,000, speak a language within the Qiangic branch (Sun 2001) or Southern Qiangic (Chirkova nd) of the Tibeto-Burman language family, and live in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, Xichang City, Yanyuan County, and Mianning County in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province; and in Jiulong County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, PR China. The Namuyi have been introduced elsewhere in terms of language and culture (Libu Lakhi et al. 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2007; Gordon 2005; Huang and Renzeng Wangmu 1991; Liu 1996; Wellens 2010) and I will not repeat that here.³

My knowledge of Namuyi religious belief is cursory. The information presented in this article comes mostly from my father (li³³bu³³ ʃə²¹pə⁵⁴, b. 1941). But even the knowledge of experts has limits. While preparing this text, I consulted both Father and ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ but when, for example, I asked why dreaming of bees was a portent of evil, ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ and Father both said that they did not know and that it was a custom from our ancestors.

Some years ago, an anonymous reviewer of a paper I had co-authored, enthusiastically conjectured that the Namuyi might simply

¹ I thank the editors of *AHP*, Gabriela Samcewicz, and Gaye Sargent, among others, for helping with this paper.

² na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ is the endonym for what is more generally referred to in the literature as "Namuyi." I have chosen to use the latter in this paper due to it being more recognizable by other scholars who study the ethnic groups of Southwest China. na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ is also the term used by na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ to refer to all Tibetans. na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ refer to their language as na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹t^ho²¹. In this article, na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹t^ho²¹ is written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

³ The language is tonal indicated by the superscripted numbers in na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹t^ho²¹. All footnote numbers appear at the end of sentences after the period.

be a branch of the Yi, given the *yi* in the Sinicised term "Namuyi." In fact, "Yi" is a term created by the Chinese to describe a group of people who they consider to be culturally distinct from their own culture, that of the Han. It is unlikely that it has any bearing on the identity of the Namuyi. Furthermore, the Yi category includes very diverse people as noted by Névot (2012:24), who writes that the Yi nationality is made up of diverse ethnic groups living in Yunnan, Sichuan, and Guizhou provinces that have distinctively different cultural and linguistic characteristics.

I am periodically asked to describe similarities between na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹t^ho²¹ and the language spoken by the Nuosu (Yi), whom Namuyi refer to as gvu²¹ɕy³³, who also reside in this region. I partially addressed this issue in the context of the na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹t^ho²¹ and Nuosu spoken in Dashui Village (Libu Lakhi et al. 2009b:302).⁴ Briefly, the two languages are mutually incomprehensible, although there are a number of shared lexical items.

When I asked Father how Nuosu and Namuyi religion compared, he said:

They are very different. During rituals, gvu²¹ɕy³³ p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ 'Nuosu religious specialists/' *bimo* don't venerate mountain deities.⁵ The gvu²¹ɕy³³ p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ summons his teacher's spirit, his teacher's teacher's spirit, and so on. They perform rituals with their masters' spirits' help by calling the spirits of these ancestors and making offerings to them. In cases where they need to call mountain deities, they call them only after they have finished calling their masters' spirits. Their previous masters' spirits are the most important spirits when they conduct rituals.

But we Namuyi call ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ 'mountain deities' at the beginning of every ritual, make offerings at the end point of each chanting session throughout the whole ritual process, and then send ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ off at the end of the ritual.⁶ Namuyi ritual specialists

⁴ Nuosu language = no³³su³³ ho²¹; Nuosu speech = no³³su³³ do²¹ma³³.

⁵ According to Harrel (2001a:3), a *bimo* is a "priest."

⁶ There are no specific figures of mountain deities among the Namuyi in the

also call their masters' spirits, but only after *ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴* are invited. Our life depends on *ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴*.

Traditionally, every Namuyi child becomes the child of *ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴* by inviting a *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴* to conduct the *pjɛ²¹ka²¹p^hɕə⁵⁴* ritual that introduces the child to the mountain deities, thirty to forty days after the birth.

Another difference is in the ritual of sending off a deceased soul. *gvu²¹ɕy³³p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴* do the 'leading the deceased soul back' ritual in an easterly direction because their ancestors were from the east. But we [Namuyi] do the ritual in the opposite direction, because our ancestors were from the west. The soul of the deceased must be sent back in the direction from which our ancestors came.

ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴

The *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴* 'happy deities', a compound word consisting of the morphemes *ga⁵⁴* (Tib *dga'*) 'happy' and *ha⁵⁴* (Tib *lha*) 'deity', is an important concept for Namuyi and worthy of detailed discussion. Today younger people tend to say *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴* referring to deities, while those born before about 1955 tend to say *ga⁵⁴ɬa⁵⁴* - the latter employing a fricative as a common pronunciation of the written Tibetan. Furthermore, many young people in my village today just say *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴*, changing it phonologically from the fricative *ɬa⁵⁴* to the approximant *la⁵⁴*, and then shifting its place of articulation from alveolar into the current point of the glotal approximant *ha⁵⁴*.

Furthermore, *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴* also refers to both the sacrifice place (see below), and deities and deceased ancestral spirits. Spirits of deceased family relatives are placed into two general categories. The first includes those who died naturally and peacefully from old age. They are respected and offered libations of liquor and food during

Xichang area and no folktales describe them. They are just there.

occasions such as the New Year. The second category includes those who died unwillingly and fearfully. Those in the latter group are not respected and their spirits are not included in the semantic scope of the term *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴*.

ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴ is understood and employed pragmatically, depending on context. In a Namuyi home, the sacrifice place where the deities and deceased ancestral spirits are propitiated with libations is located on the left side of the hearth. For instance, if one says, "Put the liquor up on the *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴*," it refers to the concrete "sacrifice place" as opposed to the abstract "ancestral spirits" when liquor is actually offered, i.e., pouring a bit of liquor in a cup or bowl and placing it on the sacrifice place when rituals are performed during weddings, the New Year period, and so on.

Furthermore, if a Namuyi student says *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴ k^hi³³ nda³³* 'very good deities/ spirits' with regards to taking an exam, it means 'very good luck'.

ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴ q^hvu³³ 'calling the deities and spirits' is used in a specific context that only occurs during a ritual when a religious specialist must keep engaging mountain deities and his previous masters' spirits by constantly calling to them, offering libations, and chanting throughout the whole ritual process. It is believed that the rituals are ineffective if the deities and masters' spirits are displeased and if they do not support the issue the ritual is intended to resolve. Within this context, the meaning of *ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴* is confined to the religious specialist's mountain deities and the spirits of his previous masters from whom he learned rituals and chantings.

HE YAOHUA (1985) AND SONG ZHAOLING (2004)

Little has been written about Namuyi religion. *pi²¹* is the term that is commonly used to signify "ritual" and "conducting ritual." He Yaohua (1985) confidently places Namuyi religion, its origins, and its history in the pejorative and general category Xifan 'Western Barbarians' (Harrell 2001b), along with the Paimuyi, Duoxu, Lisu, Xumi, and

Ersu,⁷ and postulates that the religion of the "Xifan" is a combination of Tibetan Buddhism or "Lamaism and Bon."⁸ This sweeping oversimplification might have been strengthened if He Yaohua had studied the "small Tibetan sub-groups" as he terms them, and then presented generalizations based on those detailed studies.

Confusion is created as soon as the Namuyi are placed in the Xifan category. Labeling the Namuyi - along with Pumi, Lisu, Ersu, and others - in the "Xifan" category creates a confusing psychological space outside the categories of Khams, Amdo, and Central Tibetan. The Xifan category for the Namuyi seems a place for people who, though they might be classified officially as "Tibetan," are not actually "real Tibetans."

It is also necessary to consider what local Namuyi think. If a Lhasa Tibetan, for example, visits a Namuyi family, they are seen as Namuyi by the host family, despite speaking mutually incomprehensible languages/ dialects. Namuyi believe that while many other Tibetans differ linguistically and culturally from Namuyi, all Tibetans are Namuyi.

With regard to Bon in the Tibetan-Yi Corridor, Shi (2002) suggests that there is no contemporary evidence to support connection between ancient Tibetan Bon and current religious forms practiced among Tibetans in southeast and southwest Sichuan.⁹ Consequently, it is difficult to grasp how He Yaohua could envision a pan Namuyi-Pumi-other-groups culture at this early stage of research.

It should also be noted that even within Namuyi communities,

⁷ For more on the Paimuyi (Pumi, Prinmi), Duoxu, Lisu, Xumi, and Ersu, see Ding (2014), Chirkova (2014) Yu (2007), Chirkova (2011), and Schmitt (2011), respectively.

⁸ See Wu (2015) for details on the historical use of the term "Xifan" in Lianghsan. Wu writes that "Even today, their [Ersu] Han neighbors in villages still call them *Xifan*, which means "western barbarian", or *Fanzu*, which means "barbarian nationality", in Sichuan dialect of Mandarin."

⁹ The Tibetan-Yi corridor includes the Lou-Yu region from Gansu in the north to the southern slopes of the Himalayas, where areas of Han, Tibetan, and Yi ethnicity intersect, and which also contains a number of other ethnicities (Wang and Hutters 2011:190).

there are variant religious forms. Certain information He Yaohua presented and attributed to Luoguodi is not in accordance with what is practiced and believed by other Namuyi. For instance, according to He Yaohua, a horse is used in a "Soul Leading" ritual in Mianning to lead the soul of the deceased person back to $\text{ni}^{33}\text{ma}^{33}\text{la}^{21}\text{sa}^{21}$, the location from which Namuyi say they migrated to Liangshan, referred to by many Tibetans as Nyima lhasa. However, according to the migration route remembered by religious specialists and elders among Namuyi in the Xichang area, the final destination of the soul on earth is $\text{p}^{\text{hu}}\text{ji}^{54}\text{la}^{21}\text{dzy}^{21}\text{k}^{\text{hu}}\text{vu}^{21}$, a place beyond Lhasa. The exact location of $\text{p}^{\text{hu}}\text{ji}^{54}\text{la}^{21}\text{dzy}^{21}\text{k}^{\text{hu}}\text{vu}^{21}$ is unknown. Once the soul reaches here, it goes into the sky through a cloud door.

Additionally, according to He Yaohua's data from Luoguodi, a white stone that is believed to possess a deity is respected while in Xichang, a pyramid-shaped stone without color preference is put on the $\text{ga}^{54}\text{ha}^{54}$ in Namuyi homes. In the Xichang area, $\text{p}^{\text{ha}}\text{tsa}^{54}$ also use the stone, but the significance as to why it is used in rituals today is unknown.

Song's (2004) book consists mostly of photographs taken of portions of a scroll book (twenty centimeters high and ten meters long) from Mianning that he says is used in rituals and related to the Namuyi. The pictures are interspersed with comments on Namuyi history and religion.¹⁰

Song contends that images of animals, landscape, people, and so on depicted in the scroll constitute the ancient Namuyi logographic written system. The scroll plates are accompanied by an

¹⁰ The funeral ritual is critical because it marks the rite that pacifies deceased souls by guiding them back to the sky along the Namuyi ancestors' migration route. As mentioned earlier, a Namuyi religious specialist historically chanted all the place names from the place where the corpse is laid to the final destination on earth and then on to the sky through a cloud door, mentioned earlier. A scroll pictograph book depicting all these places is owned by Zhu Xiaohua in Muli County today. Wang (2012) uses this as reference to describe some useful details along with initial interpretations of these place names. However, today most Namuyi religious practitioners do not have such books. Instead, they chant the place names from memory.

archaic form of Tibetan script that requires further research to fully decipher.

Song mentions the Namuyi religious specialists p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴, a⁵⁴ʂə³³, and p^hæ³³mi³³ and their respective activities and ritual implements. He attempts to draw similarities between Namuyi and Naxi, Pumi, and Mosuo religious specialists. For example, he suggests that the Namuyi p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ is similar to the *dongba* (Naxi), *shaba* (Ersu), *bimo* (Yi), and *hangui* (Pumi) without providing specific points of commonality.

Song's introduction contains factual errors. For example, the caption on the right bottom corner of page eighteen reads "An a⁵⁴ʂə³³ reading scripture." Song provides no further information. However, the person depicted in the photo lived in Xiangshui Village in 2014; he is a p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴, not an a⁵⁴ʂə³³; and he was chanting from memory, not reading a scripture.

Song also suggests (15) that when a p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ conducts a ritual he goes into a trance state while producing various ear-piercing, strange sounds. This imaginative statement does not reflect reality. A Namuyi p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ does not go into trance when a ritual begins and utterances by a p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ and his assistants are considered melodious and able to cure illness, not ear-piercing.

MOUNTAIN DEITIES

ʈi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ 'mountain deities' are believed to live in the sky and atop high mountains. They have anthropomorphic characteristics, for example, there are male and female mountain deities who marry, have family members, and so on.

Dashui Village is at the foot of a mountain. While the mountain has no name, the peak of the mountain is called tʂ^ha²¹la²¹p^{bu}⁵⁴. This name and this peak refer to a male mountain deity. To the northwest there is another peak named tʂ^ha²¹la²¹ma⁵⁴, which is a female deity and the companion of tʂ^ha²¹la²¹p^{bu}⁵⁴. The shape of

tʂha²¹la²¹ma⁵⁴ is such that villagers say it seems she is turning her face away from tʂha²¹la²¹pbu⁵⁴ because he farted.

Elders believe that the Namuyi are the nominal children of ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ 'mountain deities'. On special days such as the Lunar New Year period and weddings, ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ must be respected and offered the freshest and tastiest food, such as rice and animal blood. If such sacrifices are not offered, there is fear that people and livestock may become ill and there will be no harvest, or that the harvest will be very limited. A few old men pray to the mountain deities when children become ill and when livestock sicken and die (Libu Lakhi et al. 2009a:25-26).

za²¹

za²¹, which are thought to be green in color, are the assistants of mountain deities. A za²¹ was earlier defined by Libu Lakhi et al. (2009a:196) as a:

...manifestation of ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴ and is about the size of a round bean. There are various za²¹. A pha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ often summons za²¹ to help during rituals. If a pha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ is very powerful, many za²¹ come as he chants. li³³bu³³ʂə²¹pə⁵⁴ (b. 1941) said that za²¹ fall one after another in front of the container when he chants if he is powerful.

Father said that, nowadays, pha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ lack the power to summon za²¹. li³³bu³³ta²¹ndi²¹ was the last pha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ in my clan (the Libu Clan) as recorded in the story *The Religious Specialist li³³bu³³ta²¹ndi²¹*, written in na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴kha²¹tho²¹ in IPA and glossed in Tibetan, Chinese, and English in Libu Lahki et al. (2009a:195-219). Briefly, li³³bu³³ta²¹ndi²¹ was a powerful pha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ who invited za²¹ to assist him and then he died. However, according to instructions that he had given earlier, his disciples pulverized the za²¹, put the resultant powder in his nose and mouth, thereby returning him to life.

ILL OMENS AND TABOOS

Dreams of bees, carrying or cutting wood, and building a house are all considered bad omens. Such dreams predict the death of a relative, a fellow villager, or a person living in a nearby village.

p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴ or older, experienced men of both Namuyi and Nuosu cultures, can also predict good or bad fortunes by examining the top of a chicken skull and the chicken's tongue tip, and interpreting the two portions of the top of chicken skull and tongue. Father looks at a chicken skull and chicken tongue during rituals and when chickens are killed and cooked for guests. The skull's left side represents the host family. The right half represents those from outside the family and distant relatives.¹¹ It is considered auspicious if the skull has no stains. In contrast, a stain on the left side of the skull indicates bad luck for the host family. A stain on the right side signifies bad luck for others. For example, during a home visit in February 2014, my family killed a chicken during a ritual. After examining the chicken skull, Father said there was a smoke-like stain on the right side of the skull. Such a stain is regarded as a very bad omen. Father then threw the chicken skull from the hearth toward the entrance of the house and said there would be bad news soon of someone dying, but not in our family. If a chicken skull is without stains, it is usually tossed to the sacrifice place.

RELIGIOUS PRACTITIONERS

Father told me that, when he was a child, there were three separate types of religious practitioners: the *a⁵⁴ʂə⁵⁴* (religious practitioner who conducts rituals by reading Tibetan scriptures), *p^hæ³³mi³³* (spirit medium possessed by mountain deities), and *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴*. The *p^hæ³³mi³³*

¹¹ Left and right may be understood as the examiner standing behind the chicken consequently, the left side of the skull refers also to the examiner's left side.

shook when he was in trance and, once he was possessed, said what needed to be done to, for example, cure illness. Father also said he had never seen or heard of a female religious practitioner.

The *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴*

A *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* is in many ways an ordinary villager. He is married, has children, and engages in farming, herding, and migrant labor. If he is at home, he visits families who invite him to conduct rituals, both in his village and from other communities. Traditionally, a *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* was highly respected among Namuyi because of his ability to solve problems by communicating with mountain deities and was invited to a home to perform rituals during major life events, e.g., funerals, weddings, in times of human and livestock illness, and three months after birth of a child to give the baby a name. He also performed such public rituals as asking for rain during drought.

An apprenticeship with a *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* teacher requires three to ten years to become a recognized *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴*. If the student has a very strong interest and memorizes the chants well, it might take only three years. For others, ten years might be required before the teacher gives approval. A son whose father was a *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* inherits his father's *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* implements. Most men who become *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* do so because this is what they want and because their parents urge them to do this.

In 2013, I noticed that families invited *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* to their homes to conduct death rituals, when a family member was ill, when livestock were ill, or when there was a poor harvest. In a few cases, a Namuyi might die in the hospital in, for example, Xichang City, and the family would choose to cremate their remains. In such a case, a *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* might be invited to conduct rituals outside of the home after the cremation. In the case of such a death, some families might choose to conduct no rituals at all.

A *p^{ha}tsə⁵⁴* begins a ritual by inviting mountain deities and his previous teachers' *qo³³eu³³* 'spirits', while chanting and offering fresh

liquor, animal blood, and incense.¹² The p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ then becomes the representative of the mountain deities and what he now chants is the speech of the mountain deities. He can now solve problems. The ritual's end is marked by offerings of liquor, meat, and incense and the p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ politely asking the mountain deities and his previous teachers to leave.

In 2014, p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ performed less frequently than in the past. Families preferred to send ill family members to local health clinics, and weddings were generally held in township center restaurants, rather than following the traditional model of a village wedding that lasted three days and two nights and featured dances, singing, and religious activities performed by the p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴.¹³

While visiting Namuyi communities in Xichang City and Mianning County, I heard accounts of a⁵⁴ ṣə⁵⁴, but I have never met any. I was told by local elders that a⁵⁴ ṣə⁵⁴ learned Tibetan by traveling to Tibetan areas. When they returned, they read Tibetan texts during rituals.

ṣa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴

In 2013, p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ ṣa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ lived in Dongfeng Village, Zeyuan Township, Mianning County, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, which is about three hours by minibus taxi from my home in Dashui Village, Minsheng Township, Xichang City.¹⁴ p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ ṣa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ told me that his father was an a⁵⁴ ṣə⁵⁴ who was often invited by families living in their home village, as well as other villages, to conduct rituals, and that he

¹² The p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ summons his teacher's spirit, his teacher's teacher's spirit, and so on. Chickens are usually killed, however, pigs, goats, or sheep might also be sacrificed.

¹³ For a modern restaurant wedding, see Luodu Gezu's fifty-eight minute documentary *Namuyi Wedding in Mianning County* of a Namuyi family holding a wedding for their son and daughter-in-law in January 2008 in the son's parents' home and in the Jinping Restaurant in Mianning County Town (<http://tinyurl.com/nafhwdj>, accessed 10 July 2015).

¹⁴ p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ ṣa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ was born in Xiangshui Village, Xiangshui Township, Xichang City.

was greatly respected. $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ said that he was supposed to continue in his father's footsteps by learning to read Tibetan scriptures.

When $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ was about seventeen years old (~1954), his father died. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), village temples were destroyed, scriptures were burned, and religious activities were forbidden. Discouraged by this atmosphere, he gave up the idea of becoming an $a^{54}\text{sa}^{54}$ or $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$. It was only after the Cultural Revolution that his mother and other close relatives encouraged him to study with a $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$ teacher on the grounds that there would be no one to conduct religious activities for villagers if he did not become a $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$.

I do not remember when I first met $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$ $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$. As he was married to Father's eldest sister ($\text{na}^{33}\text{ngvu}^{54}$, 1940-2010), my family periodically invited him to our home when he was living in Xiangshui Village. I enjoyed the candy that he gave children when he visited. After I entered middle school, I rarely saw him because I stayed at school except for the holidays. My family did not invite $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$ to our home during the time I was away, because it is inauspicious if rituals are conducted when even one family member is absent.

In 2009, after graduating from Qinghai Normal University in Xining City, I was working for the Tibetan Music Project.¹⁵ With a small PCHP grant, I invited $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$ $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ to my home in Xining City to record his chants. I telephoned his son ($p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$ $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ did not use a phone) and explained my plan.¹⁶ A week later, $p^ha^{54}\text{tsa}^{54}$

¹⁵ A project that, in 2013, became the Plateau Cultural Heritage Protection Group (PCHP) and was focused on training university students to record and document endangered traditional music from the Tibetan Plateau. For PCHP's 2012 annual report, see <http://tinyurl.com/qgka67h> (accessed 25 November 2014).

¹⁶ However, in 2013, $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ came to my home in Dashui Village to conduct rituals after my niece (1986-2013) died in Number One Xichang People's Hospital from systemic lupus erythematosus. At this time, he had a cell phone, handed it to me, and asked me to copy some Tibetan songs onto his phone. When he later played and listened to the songs, others around him asked such questions as, "Do you understand those songs?" $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$ replied that he did not but said that he enjoyed listening to them.

ša⁵⁴da⁵⁴'s son telephoned me and said that his father had agreed. At that time, there were few requests for his services. During the two months we lived together, we recorded his oral materials, which are extremely valuable as Namuyi ritual knowledge and language source material. ša⁵⁴da⁵⁴ understands about forty percent of what he chants, while I understand only about five percent because of the many religious terms and because of my limited knowledge of ritual context.

I present some lines below of an offering chant performed by ša⁵⁴da⁵⁴. At the beginning of every ritual, a ga⁵⁴ha⁵⁴ q^hvu³³ 'deity-calling', is chanted. Simultaneously, liquor is poured into a cup, or on the floor or ground (depending on the ritual site) and smoldering incense is offered. I provide both the na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹tho²¹ and English translation.

1^{lo} 2¹ li²¹ tso²¹ da²¹ te²¹
 2^{bxæ} 2¹ ji²¹ dbu⁵⁴ da³³ te³³
 3^{ji} 3³³ ji³³ ci⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ te⁵⁴
 4^{la} 3³³ na³³ ji³³ dzə⁵⁴ ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ nu³³
 5^{p^ha} 2¹ p^hbu²¹ jo³³ dzə⁵⁴ ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ nu³³
 6^{zɛ} 2¹ na²¹ ts^hə²¹ dzə²¹ ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ nu³³
 7^{tɕa} 2¹ na²¹ ræ⁵⁴ dzə⁵⁴ ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ nu³³
 8^{ci} 5⁴ q^hvu⁵⁴ ti²¹ gvu²¹ ci⁵⁴ za⁵⁴ mu⁵⁴
 9^{vi} 2¹ q^hvu⁵⁴ ti²¹ gvu²¹ vi²¹ za²¹ mu²¹
 10^{su} 3³³ lɛ⁵⁴ ŋa³³ q^hvu³³ mu³³
 11^{ŋa} 3³³ lɛ³³ nu³³ q^hvu³³ mu³³
 12^{ci} 5⁴ q^hvu⁵⁴ ti²¹ gvu²¹ ci⁵⁴ za⁵⁴ mu⁵⁴
 13^{vi} 2¹ q^hvu⁵⁴ ti²¹ gvu²¹ vi²¹ za²¹ mu²¹

¹from the upper side¹⁷

¹⁷ "From the upper side" is a polite way of addressing the deities and spirits whom the specialist depends on for the ritual to be efficacious. In a Namuyi home, the most respected people sit on the "upper side" (inner side of the house in relation to the door entrance). More importantly in this specific ritual context, "upper side" is used because mountain deities are believed to

- ²*dbu*⁵⁴ from the left side¹⁸
³*ci*⁵⁴ from the left side
⁴*ga*⁵⁴*ha*⁵⁴ eating tigers and deer
⁵*ga*⁵⁴*ha*⁵⁴ eating sheep
⁶*ga*⁵⁴*ha*⁵⁴ eating leopards and goats
⁷*ga*⁵⁴*ha*⁵⁴ eating eagles and chickens
⁸*ci*⁵⁴ descend when I call *ci*⁵⁴
⁹*vi*²¹ descend when I call *vi*²¹
¹⁰others ask for my help¹⁹
¹¹and I ask for your help
¹²*ci*⁵⁴ descend when I call *ci*⁵⁴
¹³*vi*²¹ descend when I call *vi*²¹

CHANTS

This section gives ritual names in IPA and the ritual name as it appears on the recordings of the related chants at <http://tinyurl.com/lgf3row>. A brief summary for each ritual is also given.²⁰

- *zə*²¹*kvu*³³*pi*²¹*su*²¹, ze kv pi su. A family has few children, an ill child, and/ or an ill mother.
- *jy*³³*la*²¹*rə*²¹*ko*²¹*su*²¹, yu la re ko su. After building a new home, good wishes are extended and such simple gifts as a cup of liquor are

live in the sky and on high mountain peaks.

¹⁸ A *dbu*⁵⁴ is a fist-sized (or smaller) pyramid-shaped stone that naturally has this shape. Such stones are collected from an area that is considered "clean," e.g., a forest where few people go, or upstream where livestock and people rarely go. Each *p^{ha}tsə*⁵⁴ and Namuyi family has a *dbu*⁵⁴. A *p^{ha}tsə*⁵⁴ brings his *dbu*⁵⁴ when he comes to a home to do rituals.

¹⁹ *ci*⁵⁴ and *vi*²¹ together refer to mountain deities, but may be separated in chants for the sake of poetic beauty.

²⁰ For the sake of formatting convenience, tinyurls have been used when the original/ effective URL was lengthy. The latter may be located through <http://www.getlinkinfo.com/>, <http://www.knowurl.com/>, or <http://longurl.org/> (all accessed 10 July 2015).

given to the family in the new home by the p^{ha} tsə⁵⁴. Such gifts are blessed by the deities at the location of the new home. The ritual brings health and prosperity to the family living there.

- *lu³³ lu⁵⁴ tɕ^hə²¹ su³³*, wu lu qi su. The spleen and the gall bladder of a pig butchered one or two days before the Chinese Lunar New Year. Some days after the fifteen-day New Year period, a p^{ha} tsə⁵⁴ is invited to conduct this ritual. A spleen that curls to the outside is a portent of troubles for the family, as is a gall bladder that is deemed to contain too little liquid. See Libu Lakhi et al. (2009a:39; 2009b:63) for more on this ritual.
- *ts^{ho} pi²¹ su²¹*, tsho pi su.²¹ Held during funeral rituals for parents, especially those who have sons. It is said that if a funeral ritual is conducted for a childless person who committed suicide, the p^{ha} tsə⁵⁴ conducting the ritual will have bad luck.
- *tɕə⁵⁴ ʂo²¹ su³³*, tse shuo su. Performed when someone dies from being poisoned (by themselves or by others), through suicide, or through accidents.
- *ʂo²¹ su³³*, shuo su. Performed when a person dreams of bees, which is considered a portent of evil.
- *ʂə⁵⁴ pi²¹ su²¹*, she pi su. ʂə⁵⁴ refers to disease caused by mu⁵⁴ gvu⁵⁴ 'thunder'. mu⁵⁴ ka²¹ mi²¹ refers to lightning. Thunder is understood to resemble an ax with enormous power that passes into the ground when it strikes the earth.²² When people pass by such places as, for example, a tree that has been struck by lightning, they may become ill, which manifests as painful joints. Such illness may be eradicated by sending it down into the ground or up into the sky. ʂə⁵⁴ pi²¹ su²¹ is chanted during rituals to heal the ill person. ʂə⁵⁴ pi²¹ su²¹ is also chanted when trees produce new leaves in spring, and when tree leaves turn yellow and fall to the ground

²¹ tsho²¹ pi²¹ su²¹ refers to a funeral ritual shared by both Yi and Namuyi. The origins of this word are unknown.

²² This belief is reflected in our later usage of the phrase "struck by thunder."

during autumn. The nine ɕ^{21} twigs transmit the illness into the ground and the bamboo tree transmits the illness back into the sky. The paper strips used in the ritual are of four colors - white, green, yellow, and blue - which are the colors lightning is thought to display.

- $p^h i^{54} t\check{c} a^{21} p i^{21} s u^{21}$, phi tca pi su. $f u^{21} f u^{33}$ refers to sickness caused by evil spirits and manifests as dizziness and joint pain. $p^h i^{54} t\check{c} a^{21} p i^{21} s u^{21}$ may be chanted and rituals performed. There are no blood offerings for this ritual. Instead, tofu and a bowl of corn meal are offered. They are usually first cooked because it is believed that the spirits are only able to have the food by smelling the odor, not actually eating the food. This is the only ritual, other than soul-calling, that I am aware of that does not include blood offerings.
- $p j e^{21} k a^{21} p^h \text{ɕ}^{54} s u^{33}$, pe ka pe su. This ritual is generally held under a fruit tree (either wild or cultivated) and is done to request that a child less than two months old become a child of $\check{c} i^{54} v i^{54}$. A fruit tree is chosen because people hope the next generation, which the child symbolizes, will be fruitful and multiply. A name is also given to the child at this time. After the ritual, the child is now one of $\check{c} i^{54} v i^{54}$'s children and safe from the attack of wolves and other wild animals and will experience less illness.
- $m b o^{54} k^h o^{54} p b u^{21} s u^{33}$, mbo kho pu su. Performed to protect a family that is the target of bad gossip. Dreams that feature horses are an indication of bad gossip. After a family member has such a dream, a $p^h a^{54} t s \check{c} a^{54}$ is invited to chant.
- $k a^{21} j y^{21} p i^{21} s u^{21}$, ka yu pi su. Dreams of cats, dogs, and/ or cuddling children are $k a^{21} j y^{21}$ 'ghosts' 'evils' in disguise and may lead to sickness, in which case the $p^h a^{54} t s \check{c} a^{54}$ performs this preventive ritual and chant.
- $d z u^{33} m i^{21} d z o^{33} t s o^{21} s u^{33}$, dzu mi dzo tso su. Performed to ensure that women become pregnant and do not miscarry.

I did not record chants from $\text{ɕ} a^{54} d a^{54}$ for the following rituals because he either did not know them or had to leave for his home in Sichuan and lacked the time to recite them.

- $tsə{}^{54}ma{}^{21}pi{}^{21}$ is conducted to heal skin diseases using a bucket of dry ash from the hearth.
- $pi{}^{21}dzi{}^{21}ko{}^{21}$ is conducted when the master thinks the apprentice is qualified to be a $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$. A castrated goat provided by the student's family is killed during the ritual. To show appreciation, the student offers gifts of rice, wheat, buckwheat, and perhaps other grain, cash, and cloth. The fundamental goal of this ritual is to introduce the student to the mountain deities and the $ga{}^{54}ha{}^{54}$ of the master $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$'s previous teacher so that the new $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$ will be able to conduct effective rituals. After a week or so, the teacher gives the new $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$ a drum freshly made from the skin of the goat killed during the $pi{}^{21}dzi{}^{21}ko{}^{21}$ ritual. The student is now formally considered a $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$ and may conduct rituals when invited to do so.

Personal Account

In March 2013, $p^{ha}{}^{54}tsə{}^{54}$ $ṣa{}^{54}da{}^{54}$ sat by our hearth, having just finished the $su{}^{21}li{}^{33}mu{}^{33}$ ritual, which is commonly done after a death in the family. In this particular case, it was the death of my niece. During the $su{}^{21}li{}^{33}mu{}^{33}$ ritual, which lasted five to six hours, my name and the names of my other family members were called in order to ensure that our souls did not leave with the soul of our niece.

At the end of the $su{}^{21}li{}^{33}mu{}^{33}$ ritual, my sister-in-law, $o^{54}ndzo{}^{21}mi{}^{33}$, said, "Uncle, will you be able to stay one more day and conduct a $ṣə{}^{54}pi{}^{21}su{}^{21}$ ritual for me?"

"Yeah, but do you think your Uncle has time to stay?" inserted Mother before $ṣa{}^{54}da{}^{54}$ responded.

"Yes, it depends on your uncle. He must be tired with these troublesome rituals," Father added.

"It's OK. I can stay and do the ritual and then leave," $ṣa{}^{54}da{}^{54}$ agreed.

"Thank you, Uncle! This ritual was done for me about ten

years ago, and I was well, but now I feel my body joints are painful. I'm so glad that you can do this ritual for me," o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ said.²³

The sə⁵⁴pi²¹su²¹ ritual that ensued is outlined below:

- o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ asked for buckwheat flour and buckwheat grain from a Nuosu family²⁴
- o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ cooked buckwheat till it popped and prepared items for the ritual
- sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ conducted the "egg cracking" ritual
- o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ served breakfast
- the four participants reached the ritual site
- o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ fetched water from a stream
- va⁵⁴tša³³ cut branches from nearby trees²⁵
- sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ and I prepared nine bunches of tree twigs
- I made the smoke fire, and sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ started chanting, sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ instructed me where to insert the twigs, and va⁵⁴tša³³ made another fire for heating water and cooking the rooster
- sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ demonstrated how to fold and cut the ritual papers while chanting
- o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ and I folded and cut the papers, sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ kneaded dough from buckwheat flour and made tɓu³³rə³³ma³³ 'dough effigies', and va⁵⁴tša³³ made a forked tree stick from which to hang the pot²⁶
- sə⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted and tied a bamboo pole and tree branches to the tree trunk under which the main part of the ritual was conducted

²³ Father told me that he had had joint pain every year, but did not want to do rituals to alleviate the pain. He said that his joint pain gradually lessened and he believed that if he did rituals to remedy the pain, then the only way in the future to treat the pain was to do more rituals.

²⁴ Although both Nuosu and Namuyi families have grown buckwheat since the time of my earliest childhood, my family did not have any buckwheat at the time of this ritual, hence the need to borrow some.

²⁵ va⁵⁴tša³³ is one of my older brothers.

²⁶ Gtor ma.

- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted and o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ and I tied strings with bunches of ritual paper to nearby trees to mark the four directions
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted as va⁵⁴tṣa³³ made a fire and boiled water
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted while va⁵⁴tṣa³³ killed the rooster
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted while making an offering of rooster blood and va⁵⁴tṣa³³ blew his pæ²¹ hæ³³ 'wood horn'
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted; va⁵⁴tṣa³³ put the rooster over the fire; burned the feathers away; washed the rooster; cut the rooster open; removed the internal organs; cut away one leg and one wing; and then put one leg, one wing, and the liver in the hot coals. The remaining rooster (except for the head and neck, which remained connected) was chopped and put in a pot to boil.
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted and offered a rooster leg, wing, and liver
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, beat the dzu³³dzu³³ 'drum', and made tBU²¹ pæ²¹pæ³³ 'gtor ma-like cones' (cone-shaped, ritual food offerings)
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, beat the drum, and shook the tṣhə³³lu³³ 'round piece of metal with an attached striker' as va⁵⁴tṣa³³ boiled the rooster
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted and offered the boiled rooster head; va⁵⁴tṣa³³ blew the wooden horn
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, sending away mountain deities while va⁵⁴tṣa³³ prepared a meal
- for about twenty minutes we rested and had rice, chicken, and chicken soup
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, I rekindled the smoke fire and va⁵⁴tṣa³³ collected the items brought from his home
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ jumped over the fire and ran back to her home, and va⁵⁴tṣa³³ blew the wood horn
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ stopped chanting
- ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴, va⁵⁴tṣa³³, and I carried what had been brought and departed for va⁵⁴tṣa³³'s home

• • •

The next morning, va⁵⁴tʂa³³ went to Minsheng Township Town on his motorcycle with ten RMB that o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ had given him to buy paper needed for the ritual.

Birds chirped vigorously from tree branches, stimulated by warmth from the sun, which generously spread into the valley where my second brother's adobe home is located. Some birds hovered above the house and then darted back into bamboo clusters behind the house as though they were not getting enough sunshine. The smell of boiling la²¹zu³³ 'smoked and dried pork' excited chickens and dogs scavenging around in the family yard. o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ brought a bowl of clean water and an egg to ʂa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ where he was sitting in the sunny courtyard near the main room door, and then loudly shooed away the chickens and dogs.

"These chickens and dogs are really annoying. Uncle, please crack an egg²⁷ for me before we have breakfast," o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ said.

"Why do we need to do ræ³³ʂu⁵⁴ pʰu²¹ 'cracking egg', since we already knew what kind of illness you have and what ritual to do?" I asked ʂa⁵⁴da⁵⁴. I thought ræ³³ʂu⁵⁴ pʰu²¹ was going to diagnose illness and determine the appropriate ritual to conduct by cracking an egg into a bowl of water and examining the egg.

"But it is still very useful to do this, because at least some of the pain can be passed to the egg," he replied.

"Oh! I didn't know the egg could do that!" I said in surprise.

"o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³, did you rub the egg on your body?" ʂa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ asked.

"Oh, no. I forgot. I also forgot to pierce the shell," she replied. She then took the egg, made a hole in the big end with a needle, and rubbed the egg on her waist and leg joints where

²⁷ Egg cracking is a customary ritual shared by both Nuosu and Namuyi in Dashui Village.

there was pain.

"Yes, rub it and especially rub it more times on the places that you feel are very painful. Then breathe seven times on the hole in the egg," ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ said. He turned to Guifeng (o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³'s son; b. 2001) and said, "Bring some fu²¹na⁵⁴, from a clean area."²⁸

Guifeng returned after about five minutes with a bunch of fu²¹na⁵⁴. Holding the egg wrapped in fu²¹na⁵⁴ in his right hand, ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ began chanting. After about five minutes, he cracked the egg on the edge of the bowl, which was half-full of water, and poured the egg into the bowl of water.

While examining the egg in the bowl, he said, "Yes, you must feel much pain at times. Your soul is with you, so no problem there. You should also feel a little bit better now that I cracked the egg." He stirred the egg in the water, turning the water yellowish. ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ made a circle counterclockwise over o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³'s head while chanting and then he handed the bowl to Guifeng, who emptied it outside the courtyard.

o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ served a meal of rice, boiled pork, homemade vu³³dʒə³³ ko²¹ko²¹ 'smoked sausage', and pickled bo²¹ly⁵⁴ 'turnip' soup.²⁹ va⁵⁴tʃa³³ returned after purchasing the red, green, white, and yellow papers that were needed for the ritual.³⁰

o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ said to Guifeng and her three other children, "Guifeng, you and the others clean up the dishes. We're leaving. It's getting late."

"Be sure you stay at home and take care of our horses.

²⁸ The fu²¹na⁵⁴ plant generally grows about one meter tall, but may be as much as two meters tall. This plant is also used to make torches during tɕə³³ 'the Torch Festival' held on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh lunar month. "Clean" refers to an area where people and livestock rarely go, such as the side of a steep cliff. An objective of this festival, which is held at the same time as the local Nuosu festival, is to protect crops from insects. See Meng (2012) for more on this festival.

²⁹ bo²¹ tɕy⁵⁴ ræ²¹ = soup made from pickled turnip tops with salt and cut-up potatoes added. bo²¹ tɕy⁵⁴ = pickled turnip tops.

³⁰ There is no specific term for these papers in na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴ k^ha²¹tho²¹.

Don't let them get into the wheat fields," va⁵⁴tʃa³³ added.

We set off to the ritual site, north of va⁵⁴tʃa³³'s home on a small flat area on a mountain slope by a stream. It was about a forty-minute walk. o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ carried a kʰa²¹ 'bamboo back basket' containing a pot, knife, big plastic bottle, a white rooster, buckwheat flour, popped buckwheat, and some other items that she had prepared earlier. She walked quickly and soon disappeared. ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ followed with his bag holding his ritual implements, va⁵⁴tʃa³³ came next, puffing on a cigarette, and I brought up the rear.³¹

As we passed a bamboo grove near va⁵⁴tʃa³³'s house, ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ pointed to a bamboo that was about three meters tall, and said, "Cut this. We need it for the ritual." va⁵⁴tʃa³³ cut it and pulled it behind him as we made our way up the slope.

o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ was waiting for us when the three of us reached the ritual site. She had filled the big plastic bottle with clean water from a stream that was about a five-minute walk away.

"I made a little pool by the stream. The stream is clogged with tree leaves and branches. It's impossible to get any water without making a pool. Next time, you fetch water when we use up what's in this bottle," o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ said to her husband.

"No, you should do more exercise. That way, you will recover more quickly," va⁵⁴tʃa³³ replied, lying on the ground in the shade under a tree.

ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ and I laughed.

"va⁵⁴tʃa³³, va⁵⁴tʃa³³! Move! Otherwise, we'll have difficulty seeing in the darkness tonight," ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ urged.

I helped ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ cut green branches from ndza³³mi³³ and ʃə²¹ trees and sharpened the ends of some twigs. I collected some dry bushes, set them on fire, and covered the fire with ndza³³mi³³ branches to make smoke. Meanwhile, ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ sat

³¹ ʃa⁵⁴da⁵⁴'s ritual implements included a drum, pæ²¹hæ³³ 'wood horn', and a tʃə³³lu³³ 'round piece of metal with an attached striker'. During the ritual he also wore a ɕə²¹po³³rə⁵⁴dza⁵⁴ 'hat with five sections' (see Figure 2).

under the shade of a tree about five meters west of the smoke fire. About three meters to the north of where ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ sat, va⁵⁴tṣa³³ was busy making a fire. He put two forked sticks on either side of the fire and a tree branch atop the sticks from which to hang a kettle and, later, to boil the rooster.

After I made the fire produce smoke, ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ stood and began chanting, while using a trowel to dig one time at each of nine locations. The distance between the nine holes was about fifty centimeters. I inserted three twigs into each hole as ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ instructed.

After inserting the twigs, ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ continued chanting while mixing buckwheat flour with cold water in a bowl. He kneaded the dough and made cones that he placed on a rock under the tree where he was chanting.

"va⁵⁴tṣa³³, this stone won't do - it keeps rolling away. Go find another, flatter one that I can put the *tBU*²¹ pæ²¹pæ³³ on," ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ said.

"I'm busy making the fire," va⁵⁴tṣa³³ replied.

I searched, found a flat stone, and brought it to ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴.

Meanwhile, ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ was busy using lengths of the wild *na*²¹*mbo*³³ plant to tie the ritual bamboo to the tree under which he would chant.³² He also tied ṣə²¹ branches to the same tree. Next, he demonstrated how to cut the papers into narrow strips about one meter long. Four strips, with each strip being of a different color (red, white, yellow, and green), were then placed into one bunch. Seven to ten strips were then put on each of five strings.³³ Each strip was about five meters long. o⁵⁴ndzo²¹mi³³ also wore one string wrapped around her head. The other four strings were tied to trees to mark the four directions.

During the ritual, ṣa⁵⁴da⁵⁴ chanted, beat his drum, and occasionally sipped beer from a bottle while offering fresh liquor

³² It is a wild plant that may be used like string.

³³ The number of bunches of paper strips depends on the distance between the two trees the string is tied to.

to his *ga*⁵⁴*ha*⁵⁴. After finishing each of the ten to fifteen chants, *sa*⁵⁴*da*⁵⁴ blew his wood horn and instructed *va*⁵⁴*t̥sa*³³ to make one circle over *o*⁵⁴*ndzo*²¹*mi*³³'s head with popped buckwheat while saying, " *ti*²¹ *tɕo*³³ *ŋa*²¹*tɕo*²¹ *qʰfu*²¹ *tɕo*²¹ *sə*²¹ *tɕo*²¹ One [first] circle, five [fifth] circle, six [sixth] circle, seven [seventh] circle," and then tossing the buckwheat into the fire.³⁴

*la*²¹ *pi*²¹*za*²¹ 'deity chanting' was performed at each point of *hũ*²¹ *pʰu*⁵⁴ 'ritual offering of rooster feathers' (before the rooster was killed), *sɛ*²¹*pʰu*⁵⁴ 'ritual offering of blood', *vu*²¹*sə*⁵⁴ 'ritual offering of roasted meat', and *tɕa*²¹*sə*⁵⁴ ('ritual offering of cooked meat' and in this case, the boiled rooster neck with the head attached), accompanied by burning rooster feathers and blowing the wood horn three times.

After offering the boiled rooster head, the string of paper worn by *o*⁵⁴*ndzo*²¹*mi*³³ was removed and put on the bamboo branch.

The ritual ended with *o*⁵⁴*ndzo*²¹*mi*³³ leaving the ritual site. Next, we all jumped over the smoke fire made of dry bushes with fresh *ndza*³³*mi*³³ branches on top to generate more smoke. We extinguished the smoke fire, picked up what we had brought, and left immediately. While leaving, we each said, naming a different animal, "I'm going to X's home to bring an animal (cow, pig, sheep) to slaughter here." We could hardly see the path back in the inky darkness.

*o*⁵⁴*ndzo*²¹*mi*³³ was back at her home when the rest of us arrived. "You must be very tired, Uncle! Rest and have some beer," *o*⁵⁴*ndzo*²¹*mi*³³ said, offering *sa*⁵⁴*da*⁵⁴ a bottle of beer.

"I'm fine. Make sure you stay at home for at least one day, and avoid green tree leaves and strangers," *sa*⁵⁴*da*⁵⁴ reminded, while sipping from the bottle of beer.

"Sure. We're busy building a new house. If we weren't so busy, I'd stay inside for three days. I know I must stay inside for

³⁴ *sa*⁵⁴*da*⁵⁴ thought that blowing the wood horn required considerable energy. To save his strength, he asked *va*⁵⁴*t̥sa*³³, who has the required skill, to blow the horn.

at least one day, otherwise the ritual will be useless," she said.

...

On 4 April 2013 while I was working on this paper, I decided to phone o⁵⁴ ndzo²¹ mi³³ to obtain more information about her condition before the ritual and to see how she was feeling since. I summarize what she told me:

The first time the ritual was done for me, I was pregnant with my first child at my parents' home. I cannot remember exactly, but it was about ten years ago. At that time, I had basically become deaf. I could not hear what others said unless they shouted. Also, all my joints were painful. I felt exhausted and I didn't feel like doing any physical labor. Villagers said that the ritual had to be done to cure these problems. A white chicken was required for the ritual but we couldn't find such a chicken, so we did the ritual with a chicken that had a few white feathers.

I recovered after the ritual and I was fine until early this year. Then I felt that all my joints were painful and I was unable to speak normally – I could only speak in a low voice.

When Uncle ʃa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ was here, I asked him to do the ritual for me. This time, we bought a completely white rooster from a Nuosu family.³⁵

People say we should not go near trees or places struck by thunder, otherwise, we'll get sick. I guess I unknowingly went near such a site and probably also collected dry branches from trees that had been struck by thunder. I often collect firewood and dry leaves. We usually don't know if the wood we collect from dead, dry trees is wood from trees that died from being struck by thunder. I think I also mistakenly collected wood from such trees.

After the ritual earlier this year [2013], I stayed inside the house for one day, which is what Uncle ʃa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ told me to do. I

³⁵ The rooster weighed 1.25 kilos and cost seventy RMB.

only went outside that night when it was completely dark. Three days after the ritual, my voice returned to normal. Now [14 April 2013], I am completely back to normal.

CONCLUSION

This paper provides a general sense of Namuyi Tibetan religion based on my experiences of working with the religious specialist, $\text{sa}^{54}\text{da}^{54}$. Within the context of the major types of religious activity that I briefly describe, an account of a more specific $\text{se}^{54}\text{pi}^{21}\text{su}^{21}$ ritual is described in greater detail.

Father, as noted earlier, suggests a distinction between Namuyi Tibetan and Nuosu religions. This distinction needs sharpening in future research, as do the connections between Namuyi religion and Tibetan Buddhism, given the historical presence of $\text{a}^{54}\text{se}^{54}$ who conducted rituals by reading Tibetan scriptures and terms employed to refer to various numina. Finally, Namuyi religious activities are diverse, e.g., a ritual to solve a problem such as illness may be performed differently from one Namuyi area to another. This emphasizes the importance of conducting in-depth local studies of disparate Namuyi Tibetan communities before attempting generalizations about Namuyi religion.

FIGURES³⁶

Figure 1. p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴ ʂa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ in Dashui Village in 2013.



³⁶ All photographs were taken by the author.

Figure 2. $p^{h_a}ts\bar{a}^{54}sa^{54}da^{54}$ in Dashui Village in 2013 with $o^{54}ndzo^{21}mi^{33}$ (b. 1981), a Dashui villager and my sister-in-law. The latter was the focus of a $\text{ʂ}^{54}pi^{21}su^{21}$ ritual and chanting performed by $p^{h_a}ts\bar{a}^{54}sa^{54}da^{54}$ on a mountain slope near Dashui Village. $o^{54}ndzo^{21}mi^{33}$ had suffered from general joint pain for several months. Two days after the ritual, $o^{54}ndzo^{21}mi^{33}$ said that she felt well again. $o^{54}ndzo^{21}mi^{33}$ wore one of five strings of ritual paper around her head.



Figure 3. A fire made to boil water and cook a rooster during the ritual. Ritual paper is strung between small trees.



Figure 4. Diagram of the $sə^{54}pi^{21} su^{21}$ ritual site. During the ritual, the $p^{hə}tsə^{54}$ sat in the circle under the tree (sketch by Libu Lakhi).

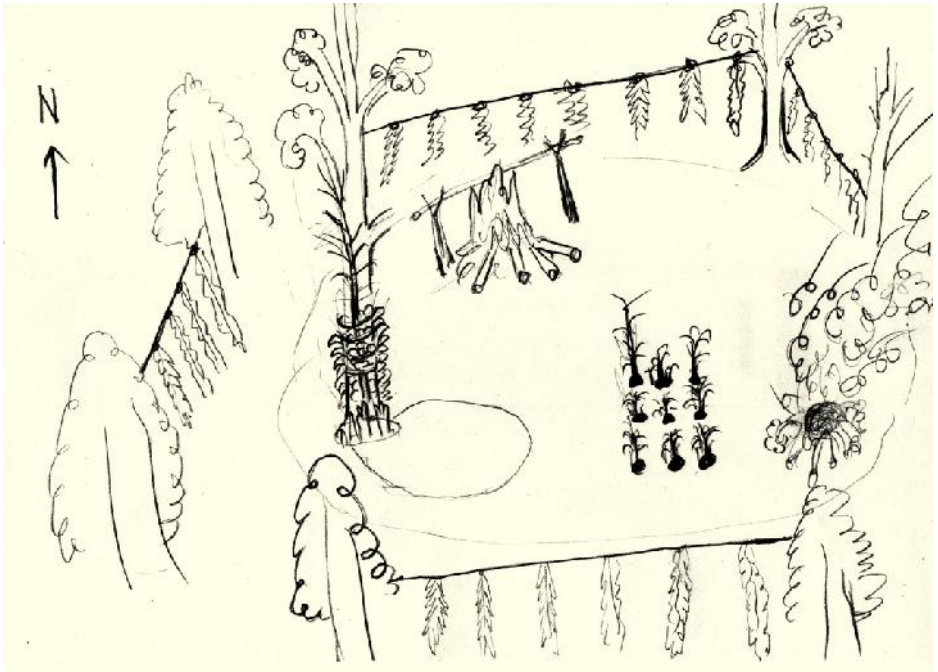


Figure 5. *pæ²¹hæ³³* 'wood horn' used during the ritual. Figures 5, 6, and 7 were taken in 2000 in my family yard. Villager Qijin (b. 1973) owns these religious implements, which he inherited from his father (ga²¹mo⁵⁴, 1946-2006) who wished him to become a *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴*. In fact, Qijin did not become a *p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴*. He had refused to do so because he was too timid to chant in front of others. I asked him to bring these implements to my home so that I could photograph them.



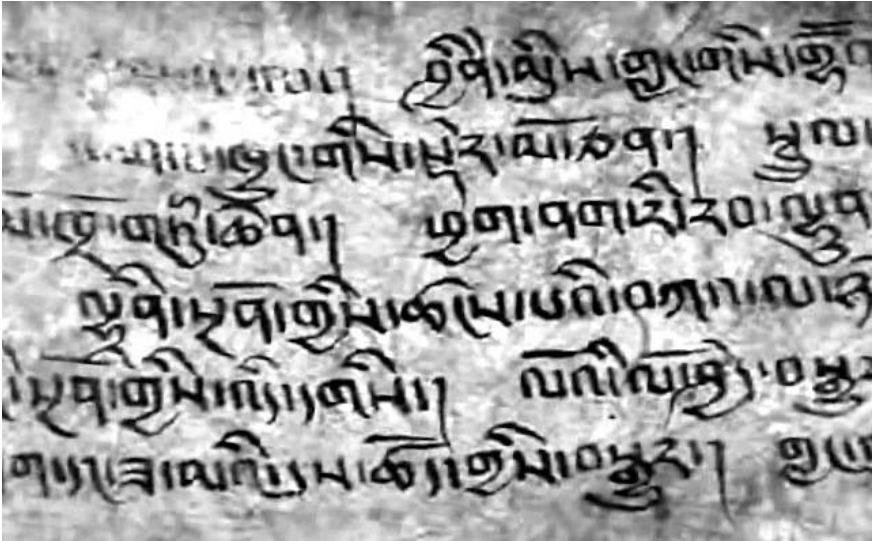
Figure 6. $t\zeta^h\partial^{33}lu^{33}$, a cymbal with an attached striker that was used during the $mbo^{54}k^{ho54}p^{bu21}$ ritual.



Figure 7. $a^{54}\zeta\partial^{54}t^ha^{21}r\ae^{21}$, scripture in Tibetan owned by Qijin.



Figure 8. *a*⁵⁴ *ṣə*⁵⁴ *tʰa*²¹ *ræ*²¹, scripture in Tibetan owned by Qijin.



APPENDIX: P^HA⁵⁴TSŌ⁵⁴ ŠA⁵⁴DA⁵⁴ CHANTS: FILE NAMES, DURATION, AND
SIZE

File Name	Ritual Name	Duration	Size MB
dzu mi dzo tso su 01	<i>dzu³³mi²¹dzo³³tso²¹su³³</i>	0'59"	10.0
dzu mi dzo tso su 02	- ensures women become pregnant and do not miscarry.	4'29"	45.3
dzu mi dzo tso su 03		1'57"	19.8
dzu mi dzo tso su 04		5'35"	70.5
dzu mi dzo tso su 05		8'01"	81.0
dzu mi dzo tso su 06		8'27"	85.4
dzu mi dzo tso su 07		16'18"	164.5
dzu mi dzo tso su 08		7'28"	75.5
dzu mi dzo tso su 09		7'06"	72.6
dzu mi dzo tso su 10		4'48"	48.5
dzu mi dzo tso su 11		8'35"	86.7
dzu mi dzo tso su 12		8'15"	83.4
dzu mi dzo tso su 13		9'53"	99.9
dzu mi dzo tso su 14		5'37"	56.8
dzu mi dzo tso su 15		6'50"	69.1
dzu mi dzo tso su 16		5'06"	51.6
dzu mi dzo tso su 17		5'19"	53.8
dzu mi dzo tso su 18		6'55"	69.9
dzu mi dzo tso su 19		7'39"	76.9
dzu mi dzo tso su 20		56'23"	569.2
dzu mi dzo tso su 21		24'17"	245.3
dzu mi dzo tso su 22		3'46"	38.1
dzu mi dzo tso su 23		3'29"	35.2
dzu mi dzo tso su 24		9'49"	101.1
dzu mi dzo tso su 25		18'10"	183.5
ka yu pi su 01	<i>ka²¹jy²¹pi²¹su²¹</i> - dreams of cats, dogs, and/ or cuddling	4'00"	40.5
ka yu pi su 02		1'38"	16.5
ka yu pi su 03		3'39"	36.9

ka yu pi su 04	children are $ka^{21}jy^{21}$ 'ghosts' 'evils' in disguise and may lead to sickness, in which case the $p^ha^{54}tsə^{54}$ performs this preventive ritual and chant.	5'35"	56.4
ka yu pi su 05		6'37"	67.8
ka yu pi su 06		8'24"	84.9
ka yu pi su 07		9'00"	90.9
ka yu pi su 08		4'51"	49.0
ka yu pi su 09		3'06"	31.5
ka yu pi su 10		10'17"	103.8
ka yu pi su 11		18'57"	191.4
ka yu pi su 12		12'12"	123.1
ka yu pi su 13		21'02"	212.0
ka yu pi su 14		25'29"	257.3
ka yu pi su 15		9'13"	93.0
ka yu pi su 16		25'56"	261.8
ka yu pi su 17		14'48"	149.5
ka yu pi su 18		8'17"	83.7
ka yu pi su 19		2'23"	24.1
ka yu pi su 20		7'58"	80.5
ka yu pi su 21		9'28"	95.6
ka yu pi su 22		9'17"	93.7
ka yu pi su 23		7'31"	76.0
ka yu pi su 24		24'38"	248.7
ka yu pi su 25		12'12"	123.2
ka yu pi su 26		20'00"	202.0
mbo kho pu su 01	$mbo^{54}k^ho^{54}p^bu^{21}su^{33}$ - performed to protect a family that is the target of bad gossip. Dreams that feature horses are an indication of bad gossip. After a family member has such a dream, a $p^ha^{54}tsə^{54}$ is invited to chant.	5'31"	55.8
mbo kho pu su 02		2'36"	26.4
mbo kho pu su 03		4'17"	43.3
mbo kho pu su 04		4'30"	45.5
mbo kho pu su 05		7'37"	77.0
mbo kho pu su 06		6'55"	69.9
mbo kho pu su 07		8'30"	85.9
mbo kho pu su 08		1'41"	17.0
mbo kho pu su 09		4'24"	44.6

mbo kho pu su 10		3'40"	37.2
mbo kho pu su 11		5'51"	59.2
mbo kho pu su 12		5'32"	56.4
mbo kho pu su 13		5'32"	55.9
mbo kho pu su 14		3'02"	30.8
mbo kho pu su 15		7'40"	77.5
mbo kho pu su 16		2'14"	22.6
pe ka pe su 01	<i>pje²¹ka²¹p^hʂə⁵⁴su³³</i> -	4'40"	47.3
pe ka pe su 02	performed under a	3'09"	31.8
pe ka pe su 03	fruit tree. Requests	3'40"	37.2
pe ka pe su 04	that a child less than	2'23"	24.1
pe ka pe su 05	two months old	7'07"	72.0
pe ka pe su 06	become a child of	7'09"	72.3
pe ka pe su 07	<i>ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴</i> . The child is	6'29"	65.5
pe ka pe su 08	also given a name, is	3'16"	33.0
pe ka pe su 09	now one of <i>ɕi⁵⁴vi⁵⁴</i> 's	5'36"	56.6
pe ka pe su 10	children, and thus safe	5'49"	58.8
pe ka pe su 11	from wolves and other	6'11"	62.6
pe ka pe su 12	wild animals. The	28'53"	291.5
pe ka pe su 13	child will also	8'54"	90.3
	experience less illness.		
phi tca pi su 01	<i>p^hi⁵⁴tca²¹pi²¹su²¹</i>	14'18"	144.4
phi tca pi su 02	<i>fu²¹fu³³</i> - held to resolve	4'03"	40.9
phi tca pi su 03	illness caused by evil	2'59"	30.3
phi tca pi su 04	spirits. Manifests as	2'07"	21.4
phi tca pi su 05	dizziness and joint	10'04"	103.4
phi tca pi su 06	pain. There are no	11'37"	117.3
phi tca pi su 07	blood offerings.	5'22"	54.2
phi tca pi su 08	Instead, tofu and a	9'12"	92.9
phi tca pi su 09	bowl of corn meal are	9'56"	100.3
phi tca pi su 10	offered. They are	6'11"	62.6
phi tca pi su 11	usually cooked first	10'00"	101.1
phi tca pi su 12	because it is believed	9'46"	98.7
phi tca pi su 13	that the spirits are	14'04"	142.0
	only able to have the		
	food by smelling the		
	odor, not actually		

phi tca pi su 14	eating the food. This and soul-calling are the only rituals that I am aware of that do not involve blood offerings.	12'50"	130.7
phi tca pi su 15		11'28"	115.8
phi tca pi su 16		24'11"	244.2
phi tca pi su 17		21'50"	220.4
phi tca pi su 18		23'11"	234.0
phi tca pi su 19		24'26"	246.7
phi tca pi su 20		4'27"	45.0
phi tca pi su 21		10'39"	107.5
phi tca pi su 22		11'18"	114.1
phi tca pi su 23		18'12"	183.7
phi tca pi su 24		4'21"	43.9
she pi su 01	sə ⁵⁴ pi ²¹ su ²¹ - ritual to treat disease (such as painful joints) caused by mu ⁵⁴ gvu ⁵⁴ 'thunder'. Such illness may be eradicated by sending the thunder down into the ground or up into the sky. sə ⁵⁴ pi ²¹ su ²¹ is chanted to heal the ill person. sə ⁵⁴ pi ²¹ su ²¹ is also done when trees produce new leaves in spring, and when tree leaves turn yellow and fall during autumn.	9'19"	94.1
she pi su 02		2'17"	23.0
she pi su 03		6'08"	62.0
she pi su 04		2'05"	21.1
she pi su 05		8'48"	88.9
she pi su 06		9'14"	93.3
she pi su 07		15'55"	159.9
she pi su 08		21'44"	219.5
she pi su 09		15'00"	151.5
she pi su 10		22'39"	228.7
she pi su 11		8'55"	90.1
she pi su 12		15'47"	159.4
she pi su 13		17'59"	181.6
she pi su 14		13'14"	133.6
she pi su 15		3'14"	32.7
shuo su 01	tsə ⁵⁴ so ²¹ su ³³ - performed when someone dies from being poisoned (by themselves or by others), suicide, and in accidents.	7'30"	75.8
shuo su 02		6'17"	63.5
shuo su 03		9'34"	96.9
shuo su 04		9'47"	98.8
shuo su 05		5'53"	59.5
shuo su 06		3'33"	25.9

shuo su 07		6'09"	62.2
shuo su 08		5'57"	60.2
shuo su 09		7'18"	73.7
shuo su 10		10'23"	105.0
shuo su 11		7'15"	73.3
shuo su 12		5'00"	50.5
shuo su 13		6'41"	67.6
shuo su 14		5'21"	54.1
shuo su 15		6'57"	70.2
shuo su 16		5'09"	52.0
shuo su 17		7'22"	74.5
shuo su 18		5'59"	60.6
shuo su 19		3'32"	35.7
shuo su 20		3'12"	32.5
shuo su 21		8'26"	85.2
shuo su 22		10'14"	103.7
tse sho su 01	<i>tɕə</i> ⁵⁴ <i>ʂo</i> ²¹ <i>su</i> ³³ - ritual held and chanted when someone dies from being poisoned (by themselves or by others), suicide, and in accidents	4'58"	50.2
tse sho su 02		1'42"	17.3
tse sho su 03		7'37"	77.0
tse sho su 04		9'16"	93.7
tse sho su 05		11'24"	115.2
tse sho su 06		6'42"	67.7
tse sho su 07		5'30"	55.5
tse sho su 08		2'11"	22.2
tse sho su 09		1'19"	13.3
tse sho su 10		17'07"	172.8
tse sho su 11		28'44"	290.1
tse sho su 12		31'43"	320.3
tse sho su 13		47'01"	476.0
tsho pi su 01	<i>tʂo</i> ²¹ <i>pi</i> ²¹ <i>su</i> ²¹ - performed during funeral rituals for parents, especially	13'24"	135.4
tsho pi su 02		2'34"	25.9
tsho pi su 03		3'09"	31.9
tsho pi su 04		5'00"	50.5

tsho pi su 05	those who have sons.	9'47"	98.8
tsho pi su 06	If a funeral ritual is conducted for a childless person who committed suicide, the p ^{ha} tsə ⁵⁴ conducting the ritual will have bad luck.	8'47"	88.7
tsho pi su 07		8'13"	83.0
tsho pi su 08		13'41"	272.9
tsho pi su 09		2'43"	27.5
tsho pi su 10		13'15"	133.8
tsho pi su 11		26'01"	262.6
tsho pi su 12		4'15"	42.9
tsho pi su 13		24'47"	250.3
tsho pi su 14		8'01"	81.0
tsho pi su 15		4'22"	44.1
tsho pi su 16		9'43"	98.2
tsho pi su 17		31'43"	320.3
tsho pi su 18		34'18"	476.0
wu lu qi su 01	bu ³³ lu ⁵⁴ tɕ ^{hə} 21 su ³³ - ritual held involving the spleen and the gall bladder of a pig butchered one or two days before the Chinese Lunar New Year. Some days after the fifteen-day New Year period, a p ^{ha} tsə ⁵⁴ is invited to conduct this ritual and examine the organs. A spleen that curls to the outside is a portent of troubles for the family, as is a gall bladder that is deemed to contain too little liquid. See Libu Lakhi (2009a:39; 2009b:63) for more on this ritual.	1'22"	13.9
wu lu qi su 02		3'28"	35.0
wu lu qi su 03		3'12"	22.3
wu lu qi su 04		3'09"	31.9
wu lu qi su 05		3'35"	36.3
wu lu qi su 06		7'38"	77.2
wu lu qi su 07		8'37"	87.1
wu lu qi su 08		6'01"	60.9
wu lu qi su 09		5'44"	58.0
wu lu qi su 10		3'01"	30.5
wu lu qi su 11		7'35"	76.7
wu lu qi su 12		6'27"	65.1
wu lu qi su 13		25'18"	67.7
wu lu qi su 14		11'32"	116.5
wu lu qi su 15		16'40"	168.3
wu lu qi su 16		7'05"	71.5
wu lu qi su 17		12'35"	125.4
wu lu qi su 18		4'22"	44.2

wu lu qi su 19		8'50"	89.3
wu lu qi su 20		18'40"	188.5
wu lu qi su 21		7'25"	74.9
wu lu qi su 22		9'47"	98.8
wu lu qi su 23		10'50"	110.8
wu lu qi su 24		2'46"	28.1
wu lu qi su 25		8'24"	84.8
wu lu qi su 26		4'02"	40.8
wu lu qi su 27		10'41"	107.9
yu la re ko su 01	<i>jy</i> ³³ <i>la</i> ²¹ <i>rə</i> ²¹ <i>ko</i> ²¹ <i>su</i> ²¹ - ritual held after building a new home. Good wishes are extended and the <i>p^ha</i> ⁵⁴ <i>tsə</i> ⁵⁴ gives such simple gifts as a cup of liquor to the family. These gifts are blessed by the deities at the location of the new home and bring health and prosperity to the family.	3'59"	40.3
yu la re ko su 02		4'01"	40.5
yu la re ko su 03		1'27"	14.8
yu la re ko su 04		2'54"	29.3
yu la re ko su 05		3'22"	34.1
yu la re ko su 06		7'37"	77.0
yu la re ko su 07		9'04"	91.6
yu la re ko su 08		7'01"	70.9
yu la re ko su 09		1'52"	19.0
yu la re ko su 10		7'00"	70.8
yu la re ko su 11		7'09"	72.3
yu la re ko su 12		4'21"	44.0
ze kv pi su 01	<i>zə</i> ²¹ <i>kvu</i> ³³ <i>pi</i> ²¹ <i>su</i> ²¹ - a ritual held when a family has few children, an ill child, and/ or an ill mother.	5'29"	55.4
ze kv pi su 02		2'03"	20.8
ze kv pi su 03		9'27"	94.4
ze kv pi su 04		8'31"	86.0
ze kv pi su 05		8'15"	83.4
ze kv pi su 06		12'46'	129.0
ze kv pi su 07		9'22"	94.6
ze kv pi su 08		5'12"	52.7
ze kv pi su 09		7'25"	74.9
ze kv pi su 10		9'29"	95.8
ze kv pi su 11		8'33"	86.4
ze kv pi su 12		18'35"	194.9

ze kv pi su 13		13'04"	132.0
ze kv pi su 14		21'46"	219.7
ze kv pi su 15		20'00"	202.0
ze kv pi su 16		22'26"	226.5
ze kv pi su 17		3'22"	34.1
ze kv pi su 18		11'59"	121.0
ze kv pi su 19		8'46"	88.5
ze kv pi su 20		2'42"	27.3
ze kv pi su 21		8'43"	86.5
ze kv pi su 22		7'20"	74.1
ze kv pi su 23		5'54"	59.7
ze kv pi su 24		6'24"	64.6
ze kv pi su 25		38'46"	391.4
ze kv pi su 26		9'46"	98.7
ze kv pi su 27		6'01"	60.8
ze kv pi su 28		8'37"	87.1
ze kv pi su 29		8'55"	90.1
ze kv pi su 30		9'34"	96.7
ze kv pi su 31		9'40"	97.7

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

A

a⁵⁴ sə³³, traditional Namuyi religious practitioner who reads Tibetan-language texts while conducting religious rituals
a⁵⁴ sə³³ t^{ha} ræ²¹, scripture used by a⁵⁴ sə³³ while conducting religious rituals

Amdo ཨ་མདོ, one of three major Tibetan regions

B

bimo 毕摩, Nuosu ritual specialist

Ĉ

ĉi⁵⁴ vi⁵⁴, mountain deities

ĉə²¹ po³³ rə⁵⁴ dza⁵⁴, a religious hat with five sections

D

Dashui 大水 Village

dbu⁵⁴, triangular stone, mountain deities

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, person's name

dongba 东巴, Naxi religious specialist

Dongfeng 东风村 Village

Duoxu 多须, ethnic group in China

dzu³³ dzu³³, drum

dzu³³ mi²¹ dzo³³ tso²¹ su³³, ritual that ensures a woman becomes pregnant and does not miscarry

E

Ersu 尔苏, ethnic group in China

F

fu²¹ fu³³, sickness caused by evil spirits that manifests as dizziness and joint pain

fu²¹ na⁵⁴, plant name

G

ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴, mountain deities and the p^{ha} tsə⁵⁴'s previous teachers' spirits (ga⁵⁴ = dga དག་; ha⁵⁴ = lha ལྷ); sacrifice place; deities; deceased ancestral spirits

ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ k^hi³³ nda⁵⁴, 'good deities/ spirits'; 'good luck';

ga⁵⁴ ha⁵⁴ q^h vu³³, 'calling the deities and spirits', deity calling that is

chanted at the beginning of every ritual
 gtor ma གཏོར་མ།, cone-shaped, ritual food offerings
 ga²¹mo⁵⁴, person's name
 gvu²¹cy³³, Nuosu
 gvu²¹cy³³ p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴, Nuosu *bimo*
 Guifeng 贵峰, person's name
 Guizhou 贵州 Province

H

Han 汉, name of a nationality in China
 hangui 汉规, Pumi religious specialist
 hũ²¹p^hu⁵⁴, ritual offering of chicken feathers
 hũ³³mbu³³, toasted, popped buckwheat
 Huang 黄, family name

J

Jinping 锦屏 Restaurant
 Jiulong 九龙 County
 jy³³la²¹rə²¹ko²¹su²¹, ritual name

K

ka²¹jy²¹, evils, ghosts
 ka²¹jy²¹pi²¹su²¹, ritual name
 k^ha²¹, a bamboo basket

L

la²¹zu³³ (*la rou* 腊肉), dried, smoked pork
 Lhasa ལ་སྐྱེ། (Lasa 拉萨), place name
 li³³bu³³ sɿ²¹pə⁵⁴, person's name
 Liangshan Yi 凉山彝 Autonomous Prefecture
 li³³bu³³da²¹ndi²¹, person's name
 Libu Lakhi (Li Jianfu 李建富), person's name
 Liu 刘, family name
 Luo-Yu 珞瑜, location name
 Luodu Gezu (lo²¹tbu³³ gɛ²¹dzu³³), person's name
 Luoguodi 锣锅底, place name

†

†a²¹pi²¹za²¹, deity chanting

M

Mao Zedong 毛泽东, person's name

mbo⁵⁴k^ho⁵⁴ p^bu²¹ su³³, ritual name

Mianning 冕宁 County

Minsheng 民胜 Township

Mosuo 摩梭, ethnic group in China

mu⁵⁴ka²¹mi²¹, lightning

mu⁵⁴gvu⁵⁴, thunder

Muli 木里 Tibetan Autonomous County

N

na⁵⁴mzi⁵⁴k^ha²¹tho²¹, language spoken by Namuyi

na³³ŋgvu⁵⁴, person's name

Namuyi 纳木依 (Namuzi 纳木兹), small group of people in China
officially classified as Tibetan

Naxi 纳西, ethnic group in China

ndza³³mi³³, a tree's name

Nima Lhasa, nyi ma lhasa ཉི་མ་ལ་སྐ་ལྷ་ས་, nɿ³³ma³³ʎa²¹sa²¹, location

nimu 尼姆 (ts^ho²¹pi²¹, Nuosu = ts^ho³³pi³³), ritual of expiation of the dead
in which a white horse is used to send away the deceased's
soul

no³³su³³do²¹ma³³, Nuosu speech

no³³su³³ho²¹, Nuosu language

Number One Xichang People's Hospital, Xi chang di yi ren min yi
yuan 西昌第一人民医院

Nuosu 诺苏, Yi, ethnic group in China

ŋ

ŋa²¹tco²¹, five [fifth] circle

n

na²¹mbo³³, wild plant used as string

nɿ³³ma³³ʎa²¹sa²¹, (nyima lhasa ཉི་མ་ལ་སྐ་ལྷ་ས་)

O

o³³ndzo²¹mi³³, person's name

P

Paimuyi 拍木依, ethnic group in China

pje²¹ka²¹p^hʂə⁵⁴su³³, ritual name

pæ²¹hæ³³, wood horn

p^ha⁵⁴tsə⁵⁴, traditional Namuyi religious practitioner who chants and

conducts religious rituals

p^hæ³³ mi³³, a religious specialist

p^hi⁵⁴ tɕa²¹ pi²¹ su²¹, ritual name

p^hu^{54;33} ɬa²¹ dzy²¹ k^hvu²¹, place name

Pumi 普米, ethnic group in China

pi²¹ dʒi²¹ ko²¹, ritual name

Q

q^hvu²¹ tɕo²¹, six [sixth] circle

Qijin 七斤, person's name

Qinghai Normal University, Qing hai shi fan da xue 青海师范大学

qo³³ bu³³, a p^ha⁵⁴ tsə⁵⁴'s previous teachers' spirits

R

ræ³³ ku³³ p^hu²¹, ritual name

ʁ

ʁo²¹ ly³³, turnip

ʁo²¹ tɕy⁵⁴ ræ²¹, soup made from pickled turnip tops with salt and cut-up potatoes added

ʁo²¹ tɕy⁵⁴, pickled turnip tops

ku³³ lu³³ tɕə²¹ su³³, ritual name

S

Shaba 沙坝 Town

Shaba 沙巴, Ersu Tibetan religious specialist

sɛ²¹ p^hu³³, ritual offering of blood

Sichuan 四川 Province

su^{21;33} li³³ mu³³, ritual done after a death in the family

ʂ

ʂa⁵⁴ da⁵⁴ (Shada 沙达), person's name

ʂə²¹, type of tree

ʂə⁵⁴, disease caused by mu⁵⁴ gvu⁵⁴ 'thunder'

ʂə⁵⁴ pi²¹ su²¹, ritual name

ʂə²¹ tɕo²¹, seven [seventh] circle

ʂo²¹ su³³, ritual name

T

tɕu²¹ pæ²¹ pæ³³, gtor ma-like cones

tɕə³³, the Torch Festival

tɕa²¹ ʂə⁵⁴, ritual offering of cooked meat

ti²¹ tɕo³³, one [first] circle

ts^ho²¹ pi²¹ su²¹, ritual name

tɕə⁵⁴ ma²¹ pi²¹, ritual name

tɕə⁵⁴ ʂo²¹ su³³, ritual name

tɕ^ha²¹ la²¹ p^hu⁵⁴, holy mountain in Dashui Village that is considered to
be male

tɕ^ha²¹ la²¹ ma⁵⁴, holy mountain in Dashui Village that is considered to
be female

tɕ^hə³³ lu³³, round piece of metal with an attached striker

t^hu²¹ pæ²¹ pæ³³, gtor ma-like cones

V

vu³³ dzə³³ ko²¹ ko²¹, smoked sausage

vu²¹ ʂə⁵⁴, ritual offering of roasted meat

va⁵³ tɕa³³, person's name

X

Xiangshui 响水 Township, Xiangshui Village

Xichang 西昌 City

Xifan 西番, Western barbarian

Xining 西宁 City

Xumi 须米, ethnic group in China

Y

Yanyuan 盐源 County

Yi 彝, Nuosu, ethnic group in China

Z

za²¹, manifestation of a mountain deity

zə²¹ kvu³³ pi²¹ su²¹, ritual name

Zeyuan 泽远 Township

Zhu Xiaohua 朱晓华, person's name

A MDO TIBETAN NAMING PRACTICES AND NAME POPULARITY

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ABSTRACT

Names, name frequency, and naming practices in Brag dmar nang (Zhemeang) Village, Dkar brjid (Garang) Township, Khri ka (Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, PR China and Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County are presented and discussed. The literature on Tibetan naming practices in English, Chinese, and Tibetan is also reviewed.

KEYWORDS

A mdo, Mtsho lho (Hainan), Mtsho sngon (Qinghai), Tibetan naming practices

INTRODUCTION¹

When Mother (Shag rdo skyid b. 1964) was in her fifth month of pregnancy with me,² my paternal grandmother, Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936), suggested that she visit Bya khyung Monastery³ to worship and to obtain a name for me. Mother then walked with her aunt (Tshe ring skyid, b. 1930) and her sister (Rdo rje sgröl ma, b. 1954) to the monastery. They set off at about five a.m. from Brag dmar nang Village and, at about six in the evening, they reached the monastery where they stayed at a monk's quarters. The monk is a family friend and his living quarters are located about one kilometer south of the monastery's main temples and chanting hall. During their three day stay at the monastery, Mother circumambulated the entire monastery once in the company of her aunt and sister, and then visited Phag mo Temple, a small temple located about 200 meters southeast of the monastery's main hall.⁴

Mother made an offering of some butter lamps before Buddhist images there and gave a loaf of homemade bread and ten RMB to the *lkog gnyer*⁵ as gifts. When she asked for a name for me, the *lkog gnyer* gave her a white piece of paper with two

¹ We thank Hu Fengzhong, Klu mo thar, and Rdo rje bkra shis for their help with data collection; Suo nanji and Bsod nams rin chen rgval for data processing; and two anonymous reviewers, AHP editors, Gabriela Samcewicz, and Gaye Sargent for their very helpful comments.

² All first person references designate the first author unless otherwise indicated.

³ Bya khyung Monastery, founded in 1349 by Chos rje don grub rin chen (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005), is located in the west of Tsha phug Township, Dpa' lung County.

⁴ Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1938, female) and Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930), both of Brag dmar nang Village, describe Phag mo Temple in Bya khung Monastery:

Phag mo Temple is a small temple in Bya khung Monastery. Pregnant women often circumambulate and prostrate in front of this temple. Women who have difficulty becoming pregnant also visit Phag mo Temple with homemade bread and a small amount of cash, and beseech the deities for children. Also, if a woman really wants to have a son, she goes there to ask for a son. This really works sometimes.

⁵ A monk who assists pilgrims as part of his monastery duties. Monks assume the role of *lkog gnyer* in turn.

names and a loaf of bread, and said, "Please call the child Rdo rje bkra shis if it is a boy, and Phag mo sgrol ma if it is a girl. Please place this bread in your family shrine until you give birth."

Before visiting Bya khyung Monastery, Shag rdo skyid also visited Uncle Dge 'dun and asked him what rituals should be done to ensure a successful birth. Uncle Dge 'dun told her that if she chanted *Sgra dbyangs*⁶ she would give birth to a boy. Mother did this.

This is how I got my name.

What are prevalent A mdo Tibetan names? How are names obtained? How, when, and why are names changed? What are the characteristics of male and female names in A mdo? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

I chose two locations for name collection. One was my natal village - Brag dmar nang - located in Dkar brjid (Garang) Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,⁷ Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, PR China. This village was chosen because I know the names of all the 233 villagers (110 male; 123 female).⁸ This also allowed for a focused examination of one particular community. The economics of the village are complex, with ongoing agriculture, animal husbandry, and outside employment, in addition to state-sponsored modern education.

In 2014, the village was home to about fifty-one households whose members were all classified as Tibetan. Brag dmar nang was an agro-pastoral village, with every household owning sheep, goats, mules, donkeys, and cows. However, with the availability of paid employment outside the village, only five village families kept livestock in 2014. Wheat, rape (canola), potatoes, a small amount of

⁶ *Sgra dbyangs* refers to *Sgra dbyangs rgyal po'i mtshan*, a Buddhist scripture. 'Phrin las, a monk at Seng khri Monastery, 'Ba' County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province advised chanting this scripture helped women avoid miscarriage and give birth successfully.

⁷ The counties in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture are Gser chen (Gonghe), 'Ba' (Tongde), Brag dkar (Xinghai), Mang ra (Guinan), and Khri ka.

⁸ At the time of this survey (2012), the youngest male villager was born in 2012 and the oldest was born in 1930.

barley, and some vegetables are cultivated on approximately thirty-three hectares of irrigated land.⁹ This community has also been described in Rdo rje bkra shis et al. (2012) and Tshe dpal rdo rje et al. (2009).

The second site for name collection was Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County. For all students at the school, I collected names (in Chinese, according to the official school list), sex, birthdates, and ethnicity (all were Tibetan). Students were then asked to write their names and home areas in Tibetan. Altogether 1,468 students (673 female; 795 male) were surveyed.¹⁰ About eighty percent of the surveyed students were from Khri ka County. The other twenty percent were from other counties in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

I collected data for this paper from both the school and the village. In addition, I interviewed thirty-three students at the school in the teachers' office asking each, "How did you get your name?" and "Do you have any stories to explain your name?"¹¹

Furthermore, I chatted with thirteen Brag dmar nang villagers, most of whom visited my home for reasons unrelated to this paper, and informally asked them the two questions just mentioned. The research was completed in late 2013.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on Tibetan naming practices and name popularity is scant, especially in English. For this reason, we offer summaries of the literature we found, particularly for the Chinese and Tibetan language

⁹ Non-irrigated land is not cultivated.

¹⁰ The youngest male student was born in 1998 and the oldest in 1988. The youngest female student was born in 1999 and the oldest in 1990.

¹¹ When I was collecting the names from Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, some syllables of the names collected were spelled differently, e.g., *grub*/*'grub*, *skal bzang*/*bskal bzang*, *'phags/phag*, *'tsho*/*mtsho*, and so on. I standardized spellings and used them to analyze the data. For instance, I used *grub* for all *'grub*, and *mtsho* for all *'tsho*.

materials. With the exception of Basang (2010) and Childs (2003), none of the authors we review explain how they collected the data and sources of their data.

I begin with Childs (2003), who discusses naming practices and name popularity in sKyid grong by focusing on a list dating to 1958 of 2,844 government taxpayers in sKyid grong, "a district-level administrative unit (*rdzong* [county]) in Tibet" (17). Though descriptive of a community in western Tibet, Childs' data is useful as a reference point for A mdo studies. How children and people in general in sKyid grong composed their names including nicknames is discussed with illustrative examples. Childs notes that (19):

...Tshe ring was by far the most common name in sKyid grong with 299 individuals - more than 10 percent of the entire population - having this as either their first or second name. Nyi ma and Zla ba had the distinction of being the most popular first names. bsTan 'dzin was not a very frequent name in sKyid grong during the early part of the 20th century, in contrast to the current situation among the exile population.

In terms of frequency of name prefix and suffix by gender, Childs writes (20):

...some names (Nor bu, Tshe dbang, and rDo rje) could be given to females, but were usually reserved for males. Also, some names are gender neutral when used as first names yet more gender specific when given as second names. Tshe ring, bSod nams, bKra shis, Tshe brtan, and bsTan 'dzin are gender neutral as first names but are used almost exclusively for males as second names, whereas Phur bu is used as a second name only for females. ...some names are used frequently as first names but rarely occur as second names (bSod nams, Blo bzang, bsTan 'dzin, bKra shis, and all the day-names except for Phur bu), while others are almost always used as second names (Don grub for males, sGrol ma and Bu khrid for females being the most striking examples).

Childs suggests that unusual entries in the name list are possibly nicknames, noting that nicknames are common and based on physical attributes, intellectual aptitude, and mental abilities, e.g., *nag mdog* 'black colored', *mgo ril* 'round head', *blun po* 'fool', *tha shal* 'bad' 'inferior', and *lkugs pa* 'mute' 'deaf'. Childs notes that nicknames might not state a negative attribute, but be applied in jest. Childs does not provide accounts of naming practices of monks and nuns, nor does he discuss Tibetan surnames.

Based on my information, nicknames in Brag dmar nang Village are used in two contexts. *Gces ming* is a name frequently used for children and friends to express kindness and affection. In contrast, a *mtshang ming* name is used to mock friends and others by basing it on their physical attributes and personality. *Mtshang ming* are more frequently used among children than adults and are particularly common among peers.

Kho and *phrug* are common second syllables used in *gces ming*, regardless of name length. For example, Rdo rje mtsho, is a female name, and a common *gces ming* for this name is Rdo phrug. Similarly, Rdo kho is the *gces ming* of the male name, Rdo rje bkra shis. Tshe kho is the *gces ming* of the female name, Tshe ring mtsho. In this case, *kho* and *phrug*, do not signify gender differences as they apply to both male and female *gces ming*. The first two syllables of a name (regardless of name length) represent *gces ming* in Brag dmar nang Village, e.g., 'Brug rgyal is *gces ming* for 'Brug rgyal tshe ring, Tshe gzungs, is *gces ming* for Tshe gzungs skyid, and so on. Other diminutives include using the first and third syllable of a name (regardless of name length), e.g., Rdo bkra for Rdo rje bkra shis, and Phag skyid for Phag mo skyid.

Different categories were identified by the author in the course of field research in A mdo. Almost every Brag dmar nang villager has a *mtshang ming*. For example, Rna rko 'flat nose', Kha stug 'thick mouth', Dmar rdo 'red cheeks', and so on. Examples of *mtshang ming* signifying personality include a villager called Feiji (Chinese for 'airplane') because he constantly fidgeted when he was a youth. Another villager is called Spyang ki 'wolf' as the result of his persistent tendency to obtain the most benefit from whatever activity

he was engaged in. A *mtshang ming* is sometimes used regardless of physical characteristics and personality. For example, as described above, a female villager called Rna rko (*mtshang ming*) has the formal name 'Phag mo mtsho'. If another female child were born in the village and was named Phag mo mtsho, that child would then be called Rna rko (her *mtshang ming*).

Chinese Language Literature

Comments on Tibetan naming practices in Chinese language literature include Qu (1982), Daola (1984), Li (1987), Danzhengjia (1994), Jia (1994), Ga Dawacairang (1996), Gama Jiangcun (1998), Basang (2010), Gazangzhuoma (2008), He (2009), and Nong (2013). These are brief papers ranging from two to six pages in length. Danzhengjia (1994), Jia (1994), Ga Dawacairang (1996), Gazangzhuoma (2008), He (2009), and Nong (2013) give a few references - the others do not.

Li (1987), Danzhengjia (1994), Jia (1994), Ga Dawacairang (1996), Gama Jiangcun (1998), Basang (2010), Gazangzhuoma (2008), He (2009), and Nong (2013) mention naming practices based on religious terms, birthdates, natural objects, hopes for the child's future life, and the hope that the mother would have no more children. Gazangzhuoma (2008), for example, writes that Meiduo (Me tog) 'flower', and Dahai ('Rgya mtsho) 'ocean' are given based on natural objects; Duo jie (Rdo rje) 'vajra', and Zhuoma (Sgrol ma) 'Tara' are given based on religious terms; Cairang (Tshe ring) 'long life' and Xingfu (Bde skyid) 'happiness' are given based on hopes for the child's future life; Canmujue (Mtshams gcod) 'stop', is given based on the hope that this is the last child for the mother; and Chuoyi (Tshe gcig) 'first', and Xingqier (Gza' mig dmar) 'Tuesday' are names based on birthdates.¹²

¹² Names are given as provided by the authors and depend on the language the authors employed, i.e., Tibetan or Chinese. Names given in Chinese are followed by Pinyin and Wylie equivalents.

He (2009) adds that Xingqiliu (Gza' spen pa) 'Saturday', Chuba (Tshe brgyad) 'eighth', and Guoqing 'National Day' are given based on birthdates. He states that parents whose other children are all females, and who wished to have a male, name the last female child Puchi (Bu khrid) 'lead to a boy' 'bring a boy'. If children died at a young age, and their parents wish to avoid accidents for a child, Puke (Bu gog) 'ugly child' might be given as a name. He further writes that when a child is seriously ill, parents name it Xiluo (Shi log) 'be dead and come back' in order to escape such suffering. Naming practices including nicknames of lay people, monks, and nuns are briefly mentioned with content very similar to Daola (1984).

Nong (2003) writes that rich families used clan and manor names as surnames to show their high family status. He notes that class and privilege are evident in Tibetan surnames in the past; only high-ranking officials and reincarnate *bla ma* had surnames while ordinary people did not. Although not stated, I assume this refers to the ancient clans in central Tibet. Nong claims that Tibetans take their children to monasteries and temples and ask a *bla ma* to name them. However, some parents whose poverty did not allow them to consult a *bla ma* named their children by themselves, or asked relatives and prestigious villagers for names. Nong provides examples of naming practices based on hopes for a child's future life and the wish that there be no further births, e.g., Ciren (Tshe ring) 'long life' and Qimei ('Chi med) 'no death'; and Cang mu jue (Mtshams gcod) 'stop' and Qiongda (Chog thal) 'enough'. Nong further notes that poverty and poor hygiene meant that children often died, an event that parents attributed to ghosts. In such cases, Qijia (Khyi skyag) 'dog shit', and Qizhu (Khyi phrug) 'puppy' might have been given in the hope the child would have a long, good life.

Nong also states that new naming practices resulted from the Chinese Revolution, for example, Jinzhu (Bcings grol) 'liberation', Dama (Dar dmar) 'red flag', Dejimeiduo (Bde skyid me tog) 'happy flower', Sajinima (Gsar brje nyi ma) 'revolutionary sun', and Jinzhumeiduo (Bcings grol me tog) 'liberation flower'. Illustrations are also given of how numbers, age differences, physical attributes (cripple, big head), vocations (doctor, carpenter), and gender were

used in names. While naming practices in terms of the number of name syllables and gender are briefly mentioned, no information is given on the specific location of the study, and when and how the data were collected.

Qu (1982) argues that Tibetans historically did not have surnames. Instead, they put tribal names, and the names of chieftains and landowners in front of their names (given names) as their surnames. Furthermore, names of Tibetan children attending Chinese schools were transliterated into Chinese characters by teachers. Such students then gradually used the first character of this name as a surname. Some Tibetans put Chinese surnames in front of their names as their own surnames.

While this may be the case, the Mongghul (Monguor, Tu) scholar Limusishiden (personal communication),¹³ describes how certain Mongghul living in Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County in Mtsho sngon Province acquired their Chinese surnames:

One family received their surname, Fu, from an official work team during the Great Leap Forward in 1958. This team visited the village and asked the family what their family was called in Mongghul. When they were told Bayan Kun 'Rich Man', they were designated as the Fu 'rich' family. Similarly, a family in Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township derived their surname, Niu, when an official work team came to the village and saw a person from the family herding cattle, then gave the surname Niu 'cattle'.

Did Tibetans acquire Chinese surnames in similar fashion? This question deserves further research. Some Amdo Tibetan families appear to have had Chinese surnames for a long while. For example, Stobs stag lha (2013:38) reports on the Ma families from Ledu County in Mtsho sngon Province who fled to Chu cha Village in about 1945 to escape Ma Bufang's oppressive rule. They had the Ma surname before arrival and were unable to explain its origin.

¹³ Email on 7 October 2015.

In addition Qu states that it is easy for those who understand Tibetan culture and tradition to distinguish Tibetan names for lay people, monks, and nuns, and by gender. This is, however, debatable. For example, based on my experiences and observations, Pa sangs and Zla ba are frequently used by both females and males. Zla ba, for example, is the name of a female in Zhi'u (Xiewu) Township, Khri 'du (Chenduo) County, Yul shul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and also the name of a male in Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, both of whom I know. In terms of female names, Qu writes that, Wangmu (Dbang mo), Lamu (Lha mo), Zhuoma (Sgrol ma), and Yangjin (Dbyangs can) are only female names, with the majority of female names featuring such suffixes as mu (mo), ji (skyid), cuo (mtsho), ma (ma), and xian (byams).

Li's (1987) general comments about Tibetan names include how naming practices changed after Liberation, and how Tibetans acquired Chinese names. Li (1987) writes that some children were named Gongchantai where Gongchan (Chinese) signifies 'communist' + tai (thar), a common suffix syllable of Tibetan male names. Another example is Wengecairang where Wenge (Chinese) refers to the 'Cultural Revolution' and Cairaing (Tshe ring) means 'long life' in Tibetan. Such naming practices, Li writes, reveal Tibetan attitudes of devotion toward communism and socialism. Li (1987) also notes that some children who were born during the Cultural Revolution were named Zhandou 'battle', Weidong 'Safeguard Chair Mao', and so on.

Danzhengjia (1994) introduces Tibetan surnames and their origins, and posits four great Tibetan surnames – Se (Bse), Mu (Rmu), Dong (Ldong), and Dong (Stong). He also discusses tribal names, place names, marriage and its relationship to surnames, how poor families without surnames acquired surnames, and the names of religious figures. Danzhengjia emphasizes the important role of Buddhism in Tibetan naming practices and name popularity. Focusing on the names of laypeople and monks, he states that, regardless of location, Buddhist terms are frequently associated with Tibetan naming practices, for instance, Zhuoma (Sgrol ma), Jiayang ('Jam dbyangs), and so on. Danzhengjia also briefly discusses naming practices in terms of gender.

Danzhengjia (1994) mentions how certain names indicate places of origin, e.g., regional variation in mountain deities, key monasteries, and *srung ma* 'protective goddesses', e.g., Hedong (Rma shar), Hexi (Rma nub), and Heyin residents of Khri ka County venerate the Wenchang (Bun khrang) Temple in Khri ka County Town. Consequently, they have names such as Wenchangtai (Bun khrang thar), Wenchangjia (Bun khrang rgyal), Wenchangji (Bun khrang skyid), and Wenchangzhuoma (Bun khrang sgrol ma). In another example, he notes that certain people from Tongren (Reb gong), Rma lho Prefecture are named Xiawucairang (Sha bo tshe ring), Xiawudongzhu (Sha bo don grub), Xiawuji (Sha bo skyid), and Xiawuzhuoma (Sha bo sgrol ma), owing to the locally venerated Xiawu (Sha bo) Mountain Deity. Similarly, in Hualong (Dpa' lung) Hui Autonomous County, people are named Lijiatai (Klu rgyal thar) and Lijiacairang (Klu rgyal tshe ring) because of Lijia (Klu rgyal), a deity in Dandou (Dan tig) Monastery¹⁴ in Dpa' lung County.

In terms of gender patterns, Danzhengjia (1994) reports that *cuo* (mtsho), *ji* (skyid), and *mao* (mo) are common syllables in girls' names. How male names and female names are composed is mentioned, including nicknaming practices. Naming practices for monks are also briefly discussed. Details of name popularity and how data were collected are not given.

Ga Dawacairang (1996) comments on the historical development of Tibetan naming practices (irrespective of region), how names were composed, and their cultural meaning and significance. In terms of gender, he claims that most female names consist of suffixes - Sgrol ma, Mtsho mo, Lha mo, Bzang mo, and Dpal mo - while most male names are composed of Tshe ring, Dgra 'dul, Lhun grub, and Don grub. He omits discussion of name popularity, and how and where data were collected.

Gama Jiangcun (1998) discusses Tibetan naming practices in the context of historical development, Tibetan Buddhism, and how

¹⁴ Dan tig Monastery, founded in 911 (<http://tinyurl.com/q9orzkd>, accessed 6 October 2015), is located in the contemporary Dpa' lung Hui Autonomous County, Mtsho sngon Province. For more on this monastery, see 'Jigs med mkhas grub (2013) and Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring (2005).

Tibetan *rus* 'surnames', a reference to patrilineage, are composed. The author focuses on naming practices of children and associated cultural connotations. The author also mentions naming practices for monks and nuns. Detailed accounts and name popularity are not mentioned.

Basang (2010) focused on 2,286 Tibetan student¹⁵ names collected at Lha sa Teacher's Nationalities School from 2007 to 2009, and concluded that, according to the frequency of names in accordance with the number of syllables and gender, female names commonly employ such suffixes as *mu* (mo), *zong* ('dzoms), *yang* (g.yang), *ga* (dkar), *ma* (ma), *cuo* (mtsho), *zhen* (sgron), *la* (lha), and *ji* (skyid). The author notes that Tibetan names of four syllables reveal certain gender specificity, i.e., most male names feature two disyllabic components. Other names are composed of two syllables lacking gender specificity, for example *Baima* (Pad ma) and *Dawa* (Zla ba). Examples of typical male names, female names, and names that lack gender specificity are briefly mentioned.

Basang claims that in terms of name frequency by gender, male names account for forty percent, female names for forty percent, and gender neutral names comprise nineteen percent. He notes that in terms of gender and number of syllable components, seventy-seven percent of male names are composed of four syllables, twenty-three percent of two syllables while three syllable components comprise only 0.06 percent. Similarly, among female names, names of four syllable components account for seventy-three percent, those of two syllables twenty-three percent, while three-syllable components constitute four percent.

Tibetan Language Literature

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001), Shes rab bstan dar (2012), Gcod pa tshe ring (2012), and Dpal lha (2006) provide Tibetan language materials on Tibetan naming practices. There are a

¹⁵ Basang does not identify the location of the students' homes.

few additional works on Tibetan naming practices in the Tibetan language, but I could not locate them. They were published in the 1980s, and online resources of much such Tibetan literature are not yet easily accessible.

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001) focus on Tibetan lineages. *Tibetan Histories Addenda et Corrigenda* (2010) criticizes this work for

its idea that Tibetan 'surnames' (an approximating translation for the word *gdung-rus* as used in this book) have always worked just like Chinese surnames, which is simply not the case.

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001) discuss *rus* frequency during certain time periods in terms of syllable components, and claim, for example, that thirty-six Tibetan *rus* appeared from 1251 to 1351, among which eight *rus* (twenty-three percent) were composed of one single syllable, twenty-seven (seventy-five percent) were composed of two syllable components, and one *rus* (two percent) was composed of three syllable components. The list of Tibetan *rus* provided is only for historical figures such as emperors, queens, princes, administrators, officers, writers, and nobles.

The authors also mention *rus* of certain contemporary Tibetans and provide a list of *rus* of Tibetan writers, *bla ma*, teachers, and others. Khri ka Ban de tshe ring of Qinghai Medical College is given as an example with Khri ka explained as being the *rus* of Ban de tshe ring.

Shes rab bstan dar (2012) discusses 'tsho and mtsho, common suffix syllables of Tibetan female names. He suggests that, according to the works of ancient Tibetan scholars, mtsho is used as a suffix for female names while 'tsho is used for males and gives the examples Gangs dkar mtsho (female), Gangs dkar 'tsho (male), and such additional examples as Sgrol ma mtsho, Ye shes mtsho, Lha mo mtsho, and Bkra shis mtsho (female) and Sgrol ma rgya mtsho, Ye shes rgya mtsho, Lha mo rgya mtsho, and Bkra shis rgya mtsho

(male). He points out that *rgya* followed by the *mtsho* suffix is a male name.

Gcod pa tshe ring (2012) briefly introduces Tibetan *rus* origins and development. He states that Tibetans stopped using *rus* when Buddhism reached Tibet and religious names began to be used. Naming practices based on different schools of Tibetan Buddhism,¹⁶ and Bon, and their significance are mentioned. Naming practices based on religious terms, *srung ma* 'protective divinities' 'guardian deities', birthdates, and home place are also noted with examples. Location of the study, and when and how the data were collected are not given.

Dpal lha (2006)¹⁷ claims that Tibetan names originally derived from the four or six great *rus* - Bse, Rmu, Ldong, Stong (Sdong), Dbra, and 'Bru ('Dru). He describes the importance of maternal names in naming practices in early society and how the names of kings, queens, and officers relate to naming practices. Naming practices in terms of gender specificity and syllable components are mentioned only briefly. In terms of naming practices based on different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, Dpal lha provides much the same content as Gcod pa tshe ring (2012).

As mentioned, most of the literature we reviewed consists of brief writings ranging from one to six pages in length that provides no information on how the data were collected, where, and when. In contrast, the research reported in the present paper was carried out in one specific Tibetan village - my natal village in Khri ka County, and in Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County. This allowed us to examine Tibetan naming practices, naming frequency and name popularity in one particular Tibetan region in A mdo.

We now shift from a broad introduction of naming in the bibliographic essay into the next section of the essay, which is a consideration of who give names and why, a numeric report based on field research, and the gendered nature of names.

¹⁶ They include Rnying ma, Sa skya, Dge lugs, and Bka' brgyud.

¹⁷ Published in 1983 by *Tibetan Studies*.

NAME GIVERS AND NAME CHANGES

To better understand who gave names, I interviewed thirty-three students and thirteen Brag dmar nang villagers. Seven students (four males, three females) from Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School said that they did not know how they got their names. For example, Lha lo tshe ring (b. 1991, male) said, "I don't know how I got my name. I didn't ask my parents about this and they never told me." Similarly, the Brag dmar nang villager, Khe gri (b. 1978, male), said, "I don't know how I got my name."

Knowledge of the origin of a name may not be absent, but may be scant. For example, Rig 'dzin mtsho (b. 1993, student, female) said, "I'm sure my name was given by one of my family members, but I'm unsure who gave it to me. I've never really thought about it." And Brag dmar nang villager, Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930, female), Brag dmar nang Village confided, "I only know my name came from a monk at Sku 'bum¹⁸ Monastery."

However, others I interviewed had more to say about how they obtained their names, though the depth of this knowledge varied. Rdo rje rgyal (b. 1992, student, male) reported that family members do not give names to their children in his village. To do so, they believe, would bring trouble:

My name was given by a *bla ma* from Hor rgyal Village, Chu nub County Town, Khri ka County. People in my village usually get names from Bya khyung and Kha sha mthil¹⁹ Temple. I never heard a villager say that a name was given by their family members. Villagers believe that a name given by a family member will bring obstacles and difficulties.

¹⁸ Sku 'bum/ Sku 'bum byams pa gling is one of the largest Dge lugs monasteries in China. Located in Ru gсар, it is situated about twenty-six kilometers from the center of Zi ling City. Founded in 1583 by the third Dalai Lama, Bsod nams rgya mtsho, Sku 'bum is the birthplace of Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge lugs Sect (Rdo rje bkra shis et al. 2012).

¹⁹ Kha sha mthil is located about two kilometers north of Gshong gshan Township Town, Dpa' lung County, Mtsho shar Region. It was founded in about 1400 by 'Jam dbyangs, a monk from Lha sa (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).

This observation contrasts with other students in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, who said male family members had named them. For example, Klu mo skyid (b. 1994, student, female) explained that her father gave her a name that combined both of her parents' names:

Father's name is Klu rgyal 'bum and Mother's name is Klu dkar skyid. Father named me Klu mo skyid because this name is composed of both his and Mother's names. Father put *mo* between *klu* and *skyid* because I am a girl. Father named one of my sister's Tshe dbang skyid. She was often sick. When a tantric monk from our village was consulted, he gave her a new name - Gu ru mtsho. Afterwards, she became healthy.

Bsod nams don grub (b. 1994, student, male) offers a similar story of a male family member giving a name based on his own name:

Grandfather (Pad ma bsod nams) gave me my name. He named several of my family members with half of his own name. For example, my brother is named Pad ma rdo rje and my sister's name is Bsod nams mtsho. Most people in my village name their children, however, if they become seriously sick, they visit a *bla ma* and change their name.

Dge 'dun mtsho (b. 1996, student, female), said:

My name was given by Mother's uncle, who is neither a monk nor a tantric practitioner. Most villagers give names to their own children, but if there are no grandparents living in the home, they generally consult an incarnate *bla ma* and ask for a name.

Chos mtsho sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female) mentions that few families in her community name their children and also explains that her maternal grandparents named her:

My maternal grandparents in Mother's natal home in Gcan tsha County gave me my name. The majority of the people in my village ask a village *bla ma* or tantric practitioner for names for their children. A few families give names to their own children.

G.yang skyid mtsho (b. 1993, student, female) said, "My name was given by one of my uncles who is a village monastery monk." Similarly, Rdo rje phag mo (b. 1997, male) said:

My name was given by a village monk my family usually invites to chant at our home. My family visited this monk after I was born and asked for a name. Most villagers visit the local monastery to ask for names for children. A few families give names to their children.

Sngags pa 'tantric practitioners' are frequent name givers, as the following accounts demonstrate:

Lha mo mtsho (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

My father, Lha mchog skyabs, told me that seven days after I was born in my mother's home in Mi nyag Village, Dpa' lung County, my grandfather visited the tantric practitioner, Dbang ldan, who named me Lha mo mtsho.

Shag rdo skyid (b. 1964, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

Aunt told me that a well-known tantric practitioner called Gu ru tshe ring from Mi nyag Village, Dpa' lung County named me Shag rdo skyid. This tantric practitioner's grandmother was also named Shag rdo skyid. I was born in the same animal year²⁰ she was born in, so he gave me his grandmother's name.

²⁰ This refers to the twelve year animal cycle: rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, and tiger.

Dpal mtsho skyid (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

My father, Khe gri, said that seven days after I was born, my family invited a local tantric monk, Dpal chen, to my home. He named me Dpal mtsho skyid. Dpal chen also said that it would be good for my future if I never ate aquatic animals and if an image of Gsang bdag was placed in the family's shrine.

Dpa' g.yang 'bum mtsho (b. 1995, student, female):

I don't know much about my name. Father said my name was given by a tantric practitioner from Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County.

Khen thar sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female):

My name was given by a village tantric practitioner. I don't know the details. Most villagers have names given by religious practitioners at Sku 'bum or Bya khyung monasteries.

Lcags thar tshe ring (b. 1993, student, male):

A well-known tantric practitioner from my village gave me my name. The year and time are important when giving a name, but I don't know much about it. Most people in my village go to Dkar brjid sngags khang²¹ and ask the *bla ma* there to give a name for their children. Some parents name their own children, usually giving the same name as that of a grandparent.

²¹ Dkar brjid sngags khang/ Dkar brjid sngags khang rnam grol pad+ma gling is located in G.yam Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County. It was founded during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).

Tshe mo rgyal (b. 1996, student, female):

My name was given by a tantric practitioner from my village. Most families in my village consult a *bla ma* or tantric practitioner for a name. A few families name their own children.

Bla ma and monks are also commonly consulted and asked to give names, as the following accounts show:

Stobs chen rgyal (b. 1994, student, male):

My name was given by a *bla ma*. He is still alive and from Bragdkar County. Most of my villagers go to a local incarnation *bla ma* and ask him for a name when a child is born.

G.yang skyid rgyal (b. 1993, student, female):

Uncle told me that my family asked for a name from a *bla ma* from Mang ra County before I was born. The *bla ma* said, "It's very good if the child is a male but, if the child is a girl, then give her a boy's name." G.yang skyid rgyal is the name the *bla ma* suggested.

Tshe ring rdo rje (b. 1991, student, male):

A *bla ma* from Mgo mang Township gave me my name. Most of my fellow villagers visit this *bla ma* for names. A few families name their own children.

Lcags byams tshe ring (b. 1991, student, male):

A *bla ma* from my village gave me my name. Villagers usually ask a local *bla ma* to name their children. No one in the village names their own children.

Phag mo skyid (b. 1994, student, female):

Mother told me that when she was pregnant, a *bla ma* from Bya khyung Monastery gave me my name. Most villagers usually go to local tantric practitioners and ask them to name their children.

Tshe brtan rgyal (b. 1995, student, male):

Sman sog Bla ma gave me my name. I don't know where he was from. My parents told me that the *bla ma* passed away when I was seven or eight years old.

Chos bzang sgrol ma (b. 1995, student, female):

About all I know is that a *bla ma* in Bya khyung Monastery gave me my name. Some families in my village consult someone in a monastery or a tantric practitioner, and others name their children.

Dpal skyid (b. 1996, student, female):

My parents told me that my name was given by a *bla ma* from Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County. The majority of the villagers consult a *bla ma* from their own village.

Rdo rje bsam grub (b. 1996, student, male):

My parents told me that a *bla ma* gave me my name, but I don't know who that *bla ma* was or where he was from. Most villagers' names are given by their grandparents. A few families consult a *bla ma*.

Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936, female, Brag dmar nang villager) said:

My name was given by Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, a monk from Upper Sde tsha Monastery.²² When I became pregnant in my twenties, I visited Bya khyung Monastery to prostrate and circumambulate, hoping I would successfully give birth. A monk from Upper Sde tsha Monastery asked me to do this and assigned me the task of circumambulating and prostrating a billion times at Bya khyung Monastery. I was unable to successfully complete this task because I was too weak physically. I gave birth to a girl who, unfortunately, passed away when she was nine months old. She would probably still be alive if I had successfully completed the billion prostrations and circumambulations.

Phag mo skyid (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

Mother (Shag rdo skyid b. 1964) said that in the eighth lunar month when she was pregnant, she went to Bya khyung with other village women and asked the *lkog gnyer* for a name. He kindly gave her a white piece of paper with two names and said, "If it is a boy, call him Dgra 'dul rdo rje. If it is a girl, call her Phag mo skyid." That's how I got my name.

Lha sgron (b. 1965, Brag dmar nang villager, female), Tshe ring rdo rje's (b. 2012, male) maternal grandmother, said:

When Tshe ring's mother was pregnant, I visited Bya khung Monastery with his mother to circumambulate Phag mo Temple. We believe that such religious activities at this temple help us give birth more easily. We also asked a *bla ma* there for a name

²² Tuttle (2010:33-39) writes:

The original d+hl/ Lde tsha Monastery was founded in the seventeenth century by d+hl tsha nang so as a branch monastery of Bya khyung Monastery and shortly afterwards became the seat of the First Zhwa dmar Pandita (b. eighteenth century). The New/Upper d+hl tsha Monastery was founded by the Fourth Zhwa dmar Pandita (1729-1796).

for the unborn child. The *bla ma* said, "Call the child Phag mo skyid if it is a girl and Tshe ring rdo rje if it is a boy."

Names may be changed during times of illness, for example, Ban de tshe ring (b. 1995, student, male) reported:

My parents told me that Grandfather gave me my first name. I don't know what that name was. Later, I became very sick and my family went to Klu tshang²³ Monastery where my name was changed to Ban de tshe ring. Most families in my village give names to their own children but, if the children get very sick, they go to the local monastery to change their names.

Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936, Brag dmar nang villager), the paternal grandmother of Phag mo mtsho (b. 1993, female), also gave an account of illness and name change:

About seven days after Phag mo mtsho was born, I visited Uncle Dkon mchog tshe ring, a tantric monk, in Sdong rgan thang Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County. I asked him for a name for my granddaughter. After returning home, I had forgotten the full name, but I was sure it was something like Tshe gzungs. The family then decided on the name Tshe gzungs sgrol ma. Later, she became very sick. The family took her to several *bla ma* and also went to several hospitals. Finally, the family went to Bya khyung Monastery where her name was changed to Phag mo mtsho.

Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930, Brag dmar nang villager), the maternal grandmother of Phag mo rdo rje (b. 1998, male), also gave an account of a name change involving visiting Bya khyung Monastery:

²³ Klu tshang/ Rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling is located about two kilometers northwest of Mang ra Township Town, Mang ra County. It was founded in 1889 by the fourth Rnye incarnation, Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).

Right after he was born in Brag dmar nang Village, his mother took him to visit her natal home in Dongpen where his grandfather, Dkon ris, gave him the name Yul lha tshe ring. When he later became very sick, his family visited Bya khyung Monastery and a monk gave him a new name - Phag mo rdo rje.

ILLNESS AND NAME CHANGE

The belief that a name may be too 'strong' (*btsan* in Tibetan) may refer to ordinary people who have the names of such extraordinary people as Tsong kha pa or Mi la ras pa. It is a common idea that ordinary people lack merit to deserve the names of extraordinary people and that they may be harmed by such names. This may then lead to name change. Klu mtsho sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female) explained:

My first name, Nor 'dzin dbang mo, was given by a village tantric practitioner. When I got sick at the age of two, my family visited a *bla ma*²⁴ who said, "Nor 'dzin dbang mo is quite a strong name for her," and then he changed my name to Klu mtsho sgrol ma.

Similarly, Phag mo rdo rje (b. 1994, student, male), said:

My first name was Phag mo don grub. It was given by a *bla ma* in Bya khyung Monastery. I became very sick when I was three or four years old. Many blotches stayed on my face. My family visited the *bla ma* who had given me my first name. He said that my name was too strong and he changed it into Phag mo rdo rje. I then completely recovered. Some villagers visit Sku 'bum Monastery for a name for their children while others name their own children.

²⁴ She did not know the *bla ma*'s name nor where he was from.

THE DATA

The data for Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School and Brag dmar nang Village are presented separately, however, the same parameters of analysis are used. The broad questions this data addresses relate to gender and frequency of occurrence:

- the most common names irrespective of gender
- the number of syllables in names irrespective of gender
- the most common first two syllables for all names
- the most common final two syllable names for names with six and four syllables.
- the most common four syllable names for both males and females
- the most common three syllable names for males and females
- the most common two syllable names for both males and females, and
- the most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.

Name Data for Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School

Of the total 1,468 names surveyed, 795 were male and 673 were female. As shown in Figure 1, only two names were shared by both males and females: Ye shes (one male, one female) and Bsod nam (one male, one female).

Figure 1. The most common names for males and females (1,468 students - 795 males, 673 females) in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Khri ka County.

Male	#	Female	#
Tshe ring don grub	10	Phag mo mtsho	12
Rdo rje tshe ring	9	Rdo rje mtsho	11
Don grub rgyal	8	Tshe ring sgrol ma	10

Tshe ring rdo rje	7	Rdo rje sgrol ma	9
Rdo rje don grub	7	Rin chen sgrol ma	8
Phag mo don grub	7	Phag mo skyid	8
Bsod nams rdo rje	7	Phag mo sgrol ma	8
Tshe ring thar	6	Tshe ring lha mo	7
O rgyan tshe ring	6	Tshe dbang sgrol ma	7
Klu 'bum tshe ring	6	Rin chen skyid	7
Don grub tshe ring	6	Rdo rje skyid	7
Bsod nams tshe ring	6	Pad ma mtsho	7
Bkra shis tshe ring	6		

The most common names for males were Tshe ring don grub (ten), Rdo rje tshe ring (nine), Don grub rgyal (eight), Tshe ring rdo rje (seven), Rdo rje don grub (seven), Phag mo don grub (seven), Bsod nams rdo rje (seven), Tshe ring thar (six), O rgyan tshe ring (six), Klu 'bum tshe ring (six), Don grub tshe ring (six), Bsod nams tshe ring (six), and Bkra shis tshe ring (six).

The most common names for females were Phag mo mtsho (twelve), Rdo rje mtsho (eleven), Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten), Rdo rje sgrol ma (nine), Rin chen sgrol ma (eight), Phag mo skyid (eight), Phag mo sgrol ma (eight), Tshe ring lha mo (seven), Tshe dbang sgrol ma (seven), Rin chen skyid (seven), Rdo rje skyid (seven), and Pad ma mtsho (seven).

No single name for either females or males had a high frequency. The most common names listed above accounted for eleven percent of all males surveyed and fifteen percent of all females surveyed. This suggests considerable diversity in local names and naming practices. However, as subsequent discussion will show, when syllables comprising names are analyzed, there is much commonality between genders.

Among the most common names for males, thirteen had four syllables and two had three syllables. Of the female names, twelve had three syllables and six had four syllables.

Figure 2. Syllable length of names for both males and females.

# of Syllables	# of Names	%	Male		Female	
			#	%	#	%
	1,468		795	54.00	673	46
6	1	0.07	1	100.00	0	0.00
5	6	0.41	6	100.00	0	0.00
4	706	48.09	469	66.43	237	33.57
3	661	45.03	265	40.09	396	59.91
2	94	6.40	54	57.45	40	42.55

Only one (male) name had six syllables - Gu ru tshe brtan rdo rje.²⁵ Of all names, six (all male) had five syllables, 706 (469 males, 237 females) had four syllables, 661 (396 females, 265 males) had three syllables, and ninety-four (fifty-four males, forty females) had two syllables, as shown in Figure 2. Most names (ninety-three percent) had either four syllables (forty-eight percent) or three syllables (forty-five percent). Five syllable names accounted for less than 0.5 percent and were all male names - Skal bzang ting 'dzin rgyal, Rta mgrin mgon po thar, Pad ma don grub rgyal, Sras mchog rdo rje rgyal, Bsod nam dpa' ldan rgyal, and Blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho. Two syllable names accounted for about six percent of total names.

Only males had names with six syllables and five syllables.

Of the students who had four syllable names, sixty-six percent were male and thirty-four percent were female. In contrast, sixty percent of three syllable names were female, compared to forty percent for males. About fifty-seven percent of the two syllable names were for males (forty-three percent for females).

Rdo rje was the most common first two syllables for all names, as displayed in Figure 3.

²⁵ This is a formal name. "Gu ru" is neither added as a nickname nor does it indicate this student's status as a teacher.

Figure 3. The ten most common first two syllables for all names.

Syllables	#	Male	Female
Rdo rje	92	63	29
Tshe ring	65	37	28
Bsod nams	57	36	21
Phag mo	48	17	31
Pad ma	48	37	11
Rin chen	42	20	22
Skal bzang	28	19	9
Lha mo	26	3	23
Rta mgrin	23	14	9
Sgrol ma	22	7	15

About twice as many males (sixty-three) had these two beginning syllables as compared to females (twenty-nine). The same was true for the second and third most common first two syllables, Tshe ring and Bsod nams, although the gender discrepancy was less pronounced, i.e., thirty-seven males as compared to twenty-eight females, and thirty-six males and twenty-one females, respectively. Phag mo, Rin chen, Lha mo, and Sgrol ma were more common for females than males.

Gender differences in the final two syllables of all names are even more dramatic, as indicated in Figure 4, which does not include names that have only two, three, or five syllables.

Figure 4. The most common final two syllables for names with six and four syllables.

Syllables	#	Male	Female
Sgrol ma	165	2	163
Tshe ring	148	135	13
Rdo rje	77	77	0
Don grub	56	56	0
Bkra shis	28	27	1
Rgya mtsho	25	25	0
Tshe brtan	22	22	0

Lha mo	19	0	19
Rgyal mtshan	14	13	1
Rnam rgyal	10	10	0
Rin chen	10	10	0

The two syllables in a two syllable name are not considered as 'final'. In the case of the final two syllables in five and three syllable names it may be inappropriate to split the two syllable phrase that has a significant meaning in the context of A mdo Tibetan naming practices. For example, in the name Tshe ring mtsho,²⁶ Tshe ring indicates 'long life', and Mtsho means 'lake'. Ring mtsho, in contrast, lacks specific meaning. Similarly, the final two syllables rje rgyal in the name Sras mchog rdo rje rgyal lack specific meaning, whereas rdo rje translates as 'vajra'. There are exceptions, for example, the final two syllables rgya mtsho in the case of the five syllable name Blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho, indicates 'ocean', but this is uncommon in contemporary Tibetan naming practice in terms of our survey. In the case of three syllable names, g.yang indicates 'auspicious' or 'prosperity' in the name G.yang dpal 'dzoms. Dpal 'dzoms signifies 'abundant glory' 'all virtuous things'.

Of the total 165 students whose names ended in Sgrol ma, 163 were female, while only two were male. Similarly, of the 148 students whose names end in Tshe ring (the second most common final two syllables), 135 were male and only thirteen were female. In addition, these final two syllables were only found for males: Rdo rje (seventy-seven), Don grub (fifty-six), Rgya mtsho (twenty-five), Tshe brtan (twenty-two), Rnam rgyal (ten), and Rin chen (ten). Lha mo (nineteen) was only found in names for females.

Figure 5 shows the most common four syllable names for males and females.

²⁶ As noted, Tshe ring signifies 'long life' while mtsho means 'lake'. However, in the context of Tibetan naming practice, Tshe ring mtsho indicates 'long life' while *mtsho* is merely a suffix.

Figure 5. The most common four syllable names for both males and females.

Male	#	Female	#
Tshe ring don grub	10	Tshe ring sgrol ma	10
Rdo rje tshe ring	9	Rdo rje sgrol ma	9
Tshe ring rdo rje	7	Rin chen sgrol ma	8
Rdo rje don grub	7	Phag mo sgrol ma	8
Phag mo don grub	7	Tshe ring lha mo	7
Bsod nams rdo rje	7	Tshe dbang sgrol ma	7
O rgyan tshe ring	6	Sangs rgyas sgrol ma	6
Klu 'bum tshe ring	6	Bsod nams sgrol ma	6
Don grub tshe ring	6	Tshe skyid sgrol ma	5
Bsod nams tshe ring	6	Lha mo sgrol ma	5
Bkra shis tshe ring	6	Bde skyid sgrol ma	5

The most common male names were Tshe ring don grub (ten), Rdo rje tshe ring (nine), Tshe ring rdo rje (seven), Rdo rje don grub (seven), Phag mo don grub (seven), Bsod nams rdo rje (seven), O rgyan tshe ring (six), Klu 'bum tshe ring (six), Don grub tshe ring (six), Bsod nams tshe ring (six), and Bkra shis tshe ring (six). The ten most common four syllable names for females were Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten), Rdo rje sgrol ma (nine), Rin chen sgrol ma (eight), Phag mo sgrol ma (eight), Tshe ring lha mo (seven), Tshe dbang sgrol ma (seven), Sangs rgyas sgrol ma (six), Bsod nams sgrol ma (six), Tshe skyid sgrol ma (five), Lha mo sgrol ma (five), and Bde skyid sgrol ma (five).

The most frequent name for males was Tshe ring don grub (ten) and for females it was Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten).

The most common three syllable names for both males and females are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The most common three syllable names for both males and females.

Male	#	Female	#
Don grub rgyal	8	Phag mo mtsho	12
Tshe ring thar	6	Rdo rje mtsho	11
Skal bzang 'bum	4	Phag mo skyid	8
Lcags thar rgyal	4	Rin chen skyid	7
Dbang chen rgyal	4	Rdo rje skyid	7
Tshe thar 'bum	3	Pad ma mtsho	7
Snying lcags rgyal	3	Tshe ring skyid	6
Skal bzang rgyal	3	Khon thar skyid	6
Rdo rje rgyal	3	'Brug mo rgyal	6
Rdo rje 'bum	3	Sgrol dkar skyid	5
Phag pa skyabs	3	Sgrol ma mtsho	5
Pad ma rgyal	3	Rin chen mtsho	5
Lha 'brug rgyal	3	Rig 'dzin mtsho	5
Kun thar rgyal	3	Klu mo mtsho	5
Gsang bdag skyabs	3	Bsod nams skyid	5
Gnam lha rgyal	3	Bde skyid mtsho	5
G.yang skyabs rgyal	3		

Phag mo mtsho (twelve), Rdo rje mtsho (eleven), and Phag mo skyid (eight) were the three most common three syllable names for females. The five most common male names with three syllables were Don grub rgyal (eight), Tshe ring thar (six), Skal bzang 'bum (four), Lcags thar rgyal (four), and Dbang chen rgyal (four).

The most common two syllable names for males were Rdo rje (four), Mgon po (three), Tshe ring (two), Thub bstan (two), and Rgya mtsho (two). Phag mtsho (three), Byams mtsho (three), Sgrol ma (two), Mtsho mo (two), Klu mo (two), and Gnam mtsho (two) were the six most frequent two syllable names for females.

Figure 7 shows the most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.

Figure 7. The most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.

Final Syllable	#	Male	Female
Rgyal	199	167	32
Mtsho	174	0	174
Skyid	161	0	161
Thar	35	27	8
Skyabs	31	31	0
'Bum	28	27	1
Yag	14	3	11
Byams	9	4	5
Mkhar	3	3	0
Sgrol	2	0	2

Rgyal was the most common syllable for males (177) - nearly five times more frequent than for females (thirty-two). Similarly, mtsho appeared 174 times for females, but not once in male names. A third very common final syllable for females was skyid (161), which did not appear at all in names for males. Similarly, skyabs appeared thirty-one times in male names, but not once for females.

VILLAGE DATA

Names, name frequency, and naming practices in Brag dmar nang (Zhemeang), a village of 233 residents (110 males, and 123 females), are now examined, beginning with the most common names for males and females, as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. The most common names (males and female) in Brag dmar nang Village.

Male	#	Female	#
Phag mo tshe ring	4	Rdo rje mtsho	7
Rdo rje bkra shis	4	Phag mo sgrol ma	6
Rdo rje tshe ring	4	Lha mo tshe ring	3
Don grub	3	Rdo rje sgrol ma	3
Tshe ring rdo rje	3	'Brug mo mtsho	3
Mgon po tshe ring	2	Sangs rgyas sgrol ma	2
Rta mgrin dbang rgyal	2	Bsam grub sgrol ma	2
Rdo rje rab brtan	2	Phag mo	2
Rdo rje lhun grub	2	Bun khrang mtsho	2
Tshe brtan rdo rje	2	Lha ris	2
Bsod nams rdo rje	2	Phag mo skyid	2
Phag mo don grub	2	Sgrol ma	2
Rin chen rdo rje	2	Tshe ring skyid	2
Pad ma dbang rgyal	2	Phag mo mtsho	2
Tshe ring don grub	2	Gcod pa mtsho	2
Don grub tshe ring	2		
Rdo rje rin chen	2		
Dpal chen rdo rje	2		

No single name was recorded more than seven times. The single most common female name was Rdo rje mtsho (seven) and the most common male names were Phag mo tshe ring, Rdo rje bkra shis, and Rdo rje tshe ring, each of which appeared four times. However, this changes when names are analyzed in terms of syllables, as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Syllable length of names for both males and females.

# of Syllables	Total Names = 233	%	Male		Female	
			#	%	#	%
			110	47	123	53
4	148	64	93	63	55	37
3	54	23	5	9	49	91
2	31	13	12	39	19	61

No villagers had a name with more than four syllables. Of the 148 four syllable names, sixty-four percent were for males and thirty-seven percent were for females. Ninety-one percent of the fifty-four, three syllable names were for females as compared to only nine percent for males.

Rdo rje was the most common first two syllables for both males (twenty-two) and females (fourteen), followed in popularity by Phag mo (twenty-five) for both males (nine) and females (sixteen) as Figure 10 shows.

Figure 10. The most common first two syllables for all names.

Name	#	Male	Female
Rdo rje	36	22	14
Phag mo	25	9	16
Tshe ring	16	10	6
Pad ma	9	6	3
Rin chen	9	4	5
Don grub	8	6	2
Bsod nams	6	6	0
Mgon po	5	4	1
Sangs rgyas	5	2	3
Mkha' 'gro	5	1	4
Bkra shis	5	2	3
Lha mo	5	0	5

Among the first two syllables of all names, Lha mo was only used for females (five) and Bsod nams was recorded only for males (six).

Gender division is also evident for the final two syllables for all names, as shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11. The ten most common final two syllables for all names.

Name	#	Male	Female
Sgrol ma	32	0	32
Tshe ring	30	24	6
Rdo rje	19	18	1
Don grub	9	9	0
Bkra shis	6	6	0
Dbang rgyal	5	5	0
Mtsho mo	5	0	5
Tshe brtan	5	5	0
Rnam rgyal	3	3	0
Rin chen	3	3	0

Sgrol ma was recorded only for females (thirty-two) and Tshe ring was used four times more often by males (twenty-four) than by females (six). In addition to Sgrol ma, other gender specific final two syllables include Don grub (nine males), Dbang rgyal (five males), Mtsho mo (five females), and Tshe brtan (five males).

Figure 12 displays the most common four syllable names for males and females.

Figure 12. The most common four syllable names for males and females.

Male Name	#	Female Name	#
Phag mo tshe ring	4	Phag mo sgrol ma	6
Rdo rje bkra shis	4	Lha mo tshe ring	3
Rdo rje tshe ring	4	Rdo rje sgrol ma	3
Tshe ring rdo rje	3	Sangs rgyas sgrol ma	2
Mgon po tshe ring	2	Bsam grub sgrol ma	2
Rta mgrin dbang rgyal	2		
Rdo rje rab brtan	2		
Rdo rje lhun grub	2		

Tshe brtan rdo rje	2		
Bsod nams rdo rje	2		
Mgon po tshe ring	2		
Phag mo don grub	2		
Rin chen rdo rje	2		
Pad ma dbang rgyal	2		
Tshe ring don grub	2		
Don grub tshe ring	2		
Rdo rje rin chen	2		
Dpal chen rdo rje	2		

Phag mo tshe ring (four), Rdo rje bkra shis (four), and Rdo rje tshe ring (four), were the most common four syllable names for males. The most common four syllable names for females were Phag mo sgrol ma (six), Lha mo tshe ring (three), and Rdo rje sgrol ma (three).

Rdo rje mtsho (seven) and 'Brug mo mtsho (three) were the most common three syllable names for females.

There were only five three syllable names for males (Tshe ring rgyal, Tshe ring byams, Tshe ring thar, Rdo rje thar, and Lha mchog skyabs) and each occurred only once.

Don grub was the most common two syllable name for males (three occurrences) while the most common two syllable names for females were Phag mo (two), Lha ris (two), and Sgrol ma (two).

The final syllable in three syllable names was closely associated with gender. Mtsho was used by twenty-nine females and not once by a male, while skyid was used by twenty females, but not once by males as a final syllable. Thar was used by two males as a final syllable and not once by females.

GENDER AND NAMES

Gendered naming practices in both Brag dmar nang Village and Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School merits discussion. All of the 233 Brag dmar nang villagers and 1,468

students that I orally interviewed were named by males. However, there are exceptions, e.g., Tshe lo skyid (b. 1994, female) indicated that most villagers in her home community consult nuns in Gcan tsha County for a name:

A *bla ma* from Sum pa Village – Mother's natal village – gave me my name. Most of my villagers go to a nunnery in Gcan tsha County and ask the nuns for a name when there is a birth in the home. If the family has monks or tantric practitioners, then they give names to their children.

This is the only example we have of women systematically naming children.

The study shows that syllable length was related to gender, e.g., only males had names with five or six syllables.

Furthermore some final syllables were strongly predictive of gender, for example, *mtsho* (174 times) and *skyid* (161) were final syllables for females and never featured in male names in the school data. For males, *skyabs* appeared thirty-one times but not once for females in the school data.

This finding was echoed in Brag dmar nang Village data, where *mtsho* featured twenty-nine times for females, and *skyid* twenty times for females but neither featured even once for males. *Thar* was used by two males but not by females. From this data it could be inferred that in three syllable names *skyid* and *mtsho* indicate a female.

The picture is different for two and four syllable names. Some names lacked gender specificity, i.e., the school data showed that *Ye shes* and *Bsod nams* were shared by both males and females. In the case of four syllable names, the first two syllables rarely indicate gender while the final two syllables may distinguish gender. For instance, *Rdo rje*, *Don grub*, *Rgya mtsho*, *Tshe brtan*, *Rnam rgyal*, and *Rin chen*, and *Dbang rgyal* were used only for males in both the school and village data while *Sgrol ma*, *Lha mo*, and *Mtsho mo* were found only for females as final two syllables. *Tshe ring* was a gender neutral name. This resonates with Childs's (2003) finding that *Tshe*

ring and Bsod noms tended to be gender neutral names while Sgrol ma was used exclusively for females. Don grub and Rgya mtsho were only for males.

CONCLUSIONS

Childs's (2003) data, which is limited specifically to Skyid grong in the Tibet Autonomous Region, provides a valuable point of contrast for this study of names in A mdo both in terms of changes in time and locations; it examines names fifty years before our data collection and in an area outside of the A mdo region. Comparison highlights notable differences. Childs lists the most common names that have four syllables, and unusual common names. For example, Tshe ring was the most common name in sKyid grong with 299 individuals as either the first name (first two syllables) or second name (final two syllables) for both males and females. Nyi ma and Zla ba were the most common first names. In terms of gender specificity, Tshe ring, bSod noms (Bsod noms), bKra shis (Bkra shis), Tshe brtan, and bsTan 'dzin (Bstan 'dzin) are gender neutral as first names, but are used almost exclusively for males as second names, while Phur bu is used as a second name only for females.

In contrast, of the 1,468 names surveyed in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Khri ka County, Rdo rje were the most common first two syllables for all names. About twice as many males (sixty-three) had these first two syllables than females (twenty-nine). When used as the first two syllables in a name, Tshe ring (thirty-seven males, twenty-eight females) and Bsod noms (thirty-six males, twenty-one females) were not gender specific.

Unlike Childs's finding, Nyi ma, Zla ba, Bkra shis, and Bstan 'dzin were uncommon names in our school data. Similar to the school data findings, in Brag dmar nang Village, Rdo rje (thirty-six) was also the most common first two syllables for both males (twenty-two) and females (fourteen), followed in popularity by Phag mo (twenty-five) for both males (nine) and females (sixteen). Among the first two syllables of all names in Brag dmar nang Village, Lha mo was only

used for females (five) and Bsod nams was recorded only for males (six).

In terms of the most common last two syllables for all names surveyed in the school, 165 ended in Sgrol ma (163 females, two males). Of the 148 names ending in Tshe ring, 135 were males and thirteen were females. In addition, as the final two name syllables Rdo rje (seventy-seven), Don grub (fifty-six), Rgya mtsho (twenty-five), Tshe brtan (twenty-two), Rnam rgyal (ten), and Rin chen (ten), were found only for males while Lha mo (nineteen) was found for females only.

The most common final two syllables in Brag dmar nang Village were Sgrol ma, which was recorded only for females (thirty-two). Tshe ring was used by four times more males (twenty-four) than females (six). In addition to Sgrol ma, other gender specific final two syllables include Don grub (nine males), Dbang rgyal (five males), Mtsho mo (five females), and Tshe brtan (five males).

Naming in our study area is a living process that is very much ongoing in A mdo. We encourage more research in ethnographic Tibet on local naming practices to better understand naming - a fundamental aspect of language and culture.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

,

'ba' འབལ། (རྫོང་།)

'bru འབྲུ།

'brug mo mtsho འབྲུག་མོ་མཚོ།

'brug mo rgyal འབྲུག་མོ་རྒྱལ།

'brug rgyal འབྲུག་རྒྱལ།

'brug rgyal tshe ring འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང་།

'bum འབུམ།

'dru འབྲུ།

'grub འབྲུབ།

'jam dbyangs འཇམ་དབྱངས།

'phags འཕགས།

'phrin las འཕྲིན་ལས།

'tsho འཚོ།

A

a mdo ཨ་མདོ།

B

Baima 白玛 (pad ma པད་མ།)

ban de tshe ring བན་དེ་ཚེ་རིང་།

Basang 巴桑 (pa sangs པ་སངས་།)

bde skyid mtsho བདེ་སྦྱིད་མཚོ།

bde skyid sgrol ma བདེ་སྦྱིད་སྒྲོལ་མ།

bka' rgyu བཀའ་རྒྱུད།

bKra shis (bkra shis) བཀ་ཤེས།

bkra shis mtsho བཀ་ཤེས་མཚོ།

bkra shis rgya mtsho བཀ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

bkra shis tshe ring བཀ་ཤེས་ཚེ་རིང་།

bla ma བླ་མ།

blo bzang བློ་བཟང་།

blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ།

blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho བློ་རྟ་མགོན་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

blun po བུན་པོ།

bon བོན།

brag dkar བྲག་དཀར། (Xinghai 兴海)

brag dmar nang བྲག་དམར་ནང་། (Zhemeang 者么昂)

bsam grub sgrol ma བསམ་གྲུབ་སྒྲོལ་མ།

bse བཤེ།

bskal bzang བསྐལ་བཟང་།

bSod nams (bsod nams) བསོད་ནམས་།

bsod nams don grub བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་།

bsod nams dpa' ldan rgyal བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་།

bsod nams mtsho བསོད་ནམས་མཚོ།

bsod nams rdo rje བསོད་ནམས་རྩེ་རྩེ།

bsod nams rgya mtsho བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

bsod nams rin chen rgyal བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་།

bsod nams sgrol ma བསོད་ནམས་སྒྲོལ་མ།

bsod nams skyid བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱིད།

bsod nams tshe ring བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་རིང་།

btsan བཙན།

bsTan 'dzin (bstan 'dzin) བསྟན་འཛིན།

bu khrid བུ་ཁྱིད།

bun khrang mtsho བུན་ཁང་མཚོ།

bya khyung བྱ་ཁྱུང་།

byams བྱམས།

byams mtsho བྱམས་མཚོ།

bzang mo བཟང་མོ།

C

Cairang ཏཱི་རུང་ (tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་།)

Cangmujue འུ་མུ་ཁྱེ་ (mtshams gcod མཚམས་གཙོད།)

chos bzang sgrol ma ཚོས་བཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ།

chos mtsho sgrol ma ཚོས་མཚོ་སྒྲོལ་མ།

chos rje don grub rin chen ཚོས་རྩེ་དོན་གྲུབ་རིན་ཆེན།

chos skyong mtsho ཚོས་སྐྱོང་མཚོ།

chu cha རྩ་ཆ།

chu nub རྩ་ལུ།

Chuba རྩ་བ་ (tshe brgyad ཚེ་བརྒྱད།)

chuoyi རྩ་ལྷི་ (tshe gcig ཚེ་གཅིག་)

ciren རིན་ཅོ་ (tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་།)

Cuo རྩོ་ (mtsho མཚོ།)

D

d+hI tsha nang so སྒྲིཛ་ནང་སོ

d+hI/lde tsha སྒྲིཛེ་ཚོ

Dahai 大海 ('rgya mtsho མཚོ)

Dama 达玛 (dar dmar དར་དམར།)

dan tig དན་ཏིག

Dandou 丹斗 (dan tig དན་ཏིག)

Danzhengjia 旦正加 (rta mgrin rgyal ཏྲ་མཁོན་རྒྱལ།)

Daola 道拉

Dawa 达瓦 (zla ba ཟླ་བ།)

dbang chen rgyal དབང་ཆེན་རྒྱལ།

dbang ldan དབང་ལྡན།

dbang rgyal དབང་རྒྱལ།

dbra དབ།

Dejimeiduo 德吉梅朵 (bde skyid me tog བདེ་སྦྱིད་མེ་ཏོག)

dge 'dun དགེ་འདུན།

dge 'dun mtsho དགེ་འདུན་མཚོ།

dge lugs དགེ་ལུགས།

dgra 'dul དག་འདུལ།

dgra 'dul rdo rje དག་འདུལ་རྡོ་རྗེ།

dkar brjid དཀར་བཞིན། (Garang གར་ཤེན)

dkar brjid sngags khang དཀར་བཞིན་སྐྱགས་ཁང་།

dkar brjid sngags khang rnam grol pad+ma gling དཀར་བཞིན་སྐྱགས་ཁང་རྩམ་

ཐོལ་པདྨ་གླིང་།

dkon mchog rgya mtsho དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

dkon mchog tshe ring དཀོན་མཆོག་ཚེ་རིང་།

dkon ris དཀོན་རིས།

dmar rdo དམར་རྡོ།

don grub དོན་གྲུབ།

don grub rgyal དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ།

don grub tshe ring དོན་གྲུབ་ཚེ་རིང་།

Dong 董, 东 (ldong ལྷོང་།, stong སྟོང་།)

Dongpen 东朋

dpa' g.yang 'bum mtsho དཔ་འགྲུལ་འབུམ་མཚོ།

dpa' lung དཔ་འཕྲུང་། (Hualong 化隆)

dpa' ris དཔ་འ་རིས།

dpal 'dzoms དཔལ་འཛོམས།

dpal chen དཔལ་ཆེན།

dpal chen rdo rje དཔལ་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ།

dpal lha དཔལ་ལྷ།

dpal mo དཔལ་མོ།

dpal mtsho skyid དཔལ་མཚོ་སྦྱིད།

dpal skyid དཔལ་སྦྱིད།

Duojie 多杰 (rdo rje རྡོ་རྗེ།)

Duojiezhaxi 多杰扎西

F

Feiji 飞机

fu 富

G

g.yam གཡམ།

g.yang གཡང།

g.yang dpal 'dzoms གཡང་དཔལ་འཛོམས།

g.yang skyabs rgyal གཡང་སྐྱམས་རྒྱལ།

g.yang skyid mtsho གཡང་སྦྱིད་མཚོ།

g.yang skyid rgyal གཡང་སྦྱིད་རྒྱལ།

Ga 噶 (dkar དཀར།)

Ga Dawacairang 嘎达哇才让 དཀར་རྩ་བ་ཆེ་རིང།

Gama Jiangcun 噶玛降村 (skar ma rgya mtsho སྐར་མ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།)

Gansu 甘肃

gangs dkar 'tsho གངས་དཀར་འཚོ།

gangs dkar mtsho གངས་དཀར་མཚོ།

Gazangzhuoma 尕藏卓玛 (skal bzang sgrol ma སྐལ་བཟང་སྦྱོལ་མ།)

gcan tsha གཅན་ཚ།

gces ming གཅེས་མིང།

gcod pa mtsho གཅོད་པ་མཚོ།

gcod pa tshe ring གཅོད་པ་ཆེ་རིང།

gdung rus གདུང་རུས།

gnam lha rgyal གནམ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ།

gnam mtsho གནམ་མཚོ།

Gongchan 共产

grub གུབ།

gsang bdag གསང་བདག

gsang bdag skyabs གསང་བདག་སྐྱབས།
 gser chen གསར་ཆེན།
 gser gshong གསེར་གཤོང་།
 gshong gshan གཤོང་གསལ་ན།
 gu ru mtsho གུ་རུ་མཚོ།
 gu ru tshe brtan rdo rje གུ་རུ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ།
 gu ru tshe ring གུ་རུ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 Guoqing 国庆

H

He Jianchun 和建春
 Hedong 河东 (rma shar མ་ཤར།)
 Hexi 河西 (rma nub མ་ནུབ།)
 Heying 河阴
 hor rgyal ཧོར་རྒྱལ།
 Hu Fengzhong 胡凤忠
 Hualong 化隆 (dpa' lung དཔ་ལུང་།)
 Huzhu 互助

J

Ji 吉 (skyid སྐྱིད།)
 Jia Yixin 贾一心
 Jiayang 加羊 ('jam dbyangs འཇམ་དབྱངས།)
 Jinzhu 金珠 (bcings grol བཅིངས་འགོལ།)
 Jinzhumeiduo 金珠梅朵 (gcings grol me tog བཅིངས་འགོལ་མེ་དོག།)

K

kha sha mthil ཁ་ཤ་མཐིལ།
 kha stug ཁ་སུག།
 khe gri ཁེ་གྱི།
 khen thar sgrol ma ཁེན་ཐར་སྒོལ་མ།
 kho ཁོ།
 khon thar skyid ཁོན་ཐར་སྐྱིད།
 khri 'du ཁྱི་འདུ། (Chenduo 称多)
 khri ka ཁྱི་ཀ། (Guide 贵德)
 khri ka ban de tshe ring ཁྱི་ཀ་བན་དེ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 klu ལུ།
 klu 'bum tshe ring ལུ་འབུམ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 klu dkar skyid ལུ་དཀར་སྐྱིད།

klu mo ལུ་མོ།
 klu mo mtsho ལུ་མོ་མཚོ།
 klu mo skyid ལུ་མོ་སྒྱིད།
 klu mo thar ལུ་མོ་བར།
 klu mtsho sgrol ma ལུ་མཚོ་སྒྲོལ་མ།
 klu rgyal ལུ་རྒྱལ།
 klu rgyal 'bum ལུ་རྒྱལ་འབུམ།
 klu tshang ལུ་ཚང།
 kun thar rgyal ལུན་བར་རྒྱལ།

L

La ལ། (lha ལྷ།)
 Lamu ལམུ་ (lha mo ལུ་མོ།)
 lcags byams tshe ring ལུགས་བྱམས་ཚེ་རིང་།
 lcags thar rgyal ལུགས་བར་རྒྱལ།
 lcags thar tshe ring ལུགས་བར་ཚེ་རིང་།
 ldong ka tshang bsod nams lha mo ལྷོང་ཀ་ཚང་བསོད་ནམས་ལུ་མོ།
 ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags ལྷོང་ཀ་ཚང་དགེ་ཤིས་ཆོས་གྲགས།
 ldong ka tshang skal bzang sgrol ma ལྷོང་ཀ་ཚང་སྐལ་བཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ།
 ldong ལྷོང་།

Ledu ལེ་དུ་

lha 'brug rgyal ལྷ་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ།
 lha khang thang ལྷ་ཁང་ཐང་།
 lha lo tshe ring ལྷ་ལོ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 lha mchog skyabs ལྷ་མཚན་སྐུབས།
 lha mo ལུ་མོ།
 lha mo mtsho ལུ་མོ་མཚོ།
 lha mo rgya mtsho ལུ་མོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
 lha mo sgrol ma ལུ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ།
 lha mo tshe ring ལུ་མོ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 lha ris ལྷ་རིས།
 lha sa ལྷ་ས།
 lha sgron ལྷ་སྒོན།
 lhun grub ལུན་གུབ།
 Li Zhonglin ལི་ཙོང་ལིན།
 Lijia ལི་ཀ། (klu rgyal ལུ་རྒྱལ།)
 Lijiacairang ལི་ཀ་ཅེ་རིང་། (klu rgyal tshe ring ལུ་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང་།)

Lijiatai 利加太 (klu rgyal thar ལུ་རྒྱལ་ཐར།)

lkog gnyer ལྟོག་གཉེན།

lkugs pa ལུགས་པ།

M

Ma 玛 (མ།)

ma མ།

Ma 马

Ma Bufang 马步芳

mang ra མང་ར། (贵南)

Mao 毛 (mo མོ།)

mchod rten thang མཚོད་རྟེན་ཐང་།

Meiduo 梅朵 (me tog མེ་ཏོག་)

mgo mang མགོ་མང་།

mgo ril མགོ་རིལ་།

mgon po མགོན་པོ།

mgon po tshe ring མགོན་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་།

mi la ras pa མི་ལ་རས་པ།

mi nyag མི་ཉག་།

mkha' 'gro མཁའ་འགོ།

mkhar མཁར།

mo མོ།

mtshang ming མཚང་མིང་།

mtsho མཚོ།

mtsho lho མཚོ་ལྷོ། (Hainan 海南)

mtsho mo མཚོ་མོ།

mtsho shar མཚོ་ཤར།

mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྔོན། (Qinghai 青海)

mu 穆, 姆 (rmu རྩུ།, mo མོ།)

N

nag mdog ནག་མདོག་།

niu 牛

Nong Ling 农玲

nor 'dzin dbang mo རོར་འཛིན་དབང་མོ།

nor bu རོར་བུ།

nyi ma ཉི་མ།

O

o rgyan tshe ring ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཙེ་རིང་།

P

pa sangs པ་སངས།

pad ma པད་མ།

pad ma bsod nams པད་མ་བསོད་ནམས།

pad ma dbang rgyal པད་མ་དབང་རྒྱལ།

pad ma don grub rgyal པད་མ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ།

pad ma mtsho པད་མ་མཚོ།

pad ma rdo rje པད་མ་རྡོ་རྗེ།

pad ma rgyal པད་མ་རྒྱལ།

phag ཕག

phag mo ཕག་མོ།

phag mo don grub ཕག་མོ་དོན་གྲུབ།

phag mo mtsho ཕག་མོ་མཚོ།

phag mo rdo rje ཕག་མོ་རྡོ་རྗེ།

phag mo sgrol ma ཕག་མོ་སྐྱོལ་མ།

phag mo skyid ཕག་མོ་སྦྱིད།

phag mo tshe ring ཕག་མོ་ཙེ་རིང་།

phag mtsho ཕག་མཚོ།

phag pa skyabs ཕག་པ་སྐུབས།

phag skyid ཕག་སྦྱིད།

phrug ཕུག

phur bu ཕུར་བུ།

Puchi 普赤 (bu khrid བུ་ཁྱིད།)

Puke 普科 (bu gog བུ་གོག།)

Q

Qijia 其加 (khyi skyag ཁྱི་སྐྱག།)

Qimei 齐美 ('chi med འཆི་མེད།)

Qing 清

Qiongda 穷达 (chog thal ཆོག་ཐལ།)

Qizhu 其朱 (khyi phrug ཁྱི་ཕུག།)

Qu Youxin 曲又新

R

rdo bkra རྡོ་བརྒྱ།

rdo kho རྡོ་ཁོ།

rdo phrug རོ་ཕུག
 rDo rje (rdo rje) རོ་རྒྱལ།
 rdo rje 'bum རོ་རྒྱལ་འབུམ།
 rdo rje bkra shis རོ་རྒྱལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས།
 rdo rje bsam grub རོ་རྒྱལ་བསམ་གུབ།
 rdo rje don grub རོ་རྒྱལ་དོན་གུབ།
 rdo rje lhun grub རོ་རྒྱལ་ལུན་གུབ།
 rdo rje mtsho རོ་རྒྱལ་མཚོ།
 rdo rje phag mo རོ་རྒྱལ་ཕག་མོ།
 rdo rje rab brtan རོ་རྒྱལ་རབ་བརྟན།
 rdo rje rgyal རོ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ།
 rdo rje rin chen རོ་རྒྱལ་རིན་ཆེན།
 rdo rje sgrol ma རོ་རྒྱལ་སྒྲོལ་མ།
 rdo rje skyid རོ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱིད།
 rdo rje thar རོ་རྒྱལ་ཐར།
 rdo rje tshe ring རོ་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 rdzong རྫོང།
 reb gong རེབ་གོང་། (Tongren 同仁)
 rgya རྒྱལ།
 rgya mtsho རྒྱལ་མཚོ།
 rgyal རྒྱལ།
 rgyal mtshan རྒྱལ་མཚན།
 rig 'dzin རིག་འཛིན།
 rig 'dzin mtsho རིག་འཛིན་མཚོ།
 rig 'dzin rdo rje རིག་འཛིན་རོ་རྒྱལ།
 rin chen རིན་ཆེན།
 rin chen mtsho རིན་ཆེན་མཚོ།
 rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རོ་རྒྱལ།
 rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲོལ་མ།
 rin chen skyid རིན་ཆེན་སྐྱིད།
 ring mtsho རིང་མཚོ།
 rje rgyal རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ།
 rma lho རྩ་ལྷོ། (Huangnan 黄南)
 rma shar རྩ་ཤར། (Hedong 河东)
 rmu རུ།
 rna rko རྩ་རྫོ།

rnam rgyal རྣམ་རྒྱལ།

rnye རྩེ།

rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling རྩེ་དགོན་བཤམ་སྒྱུབ་དར་རྒྱལ་

དགོ་འཕེལ་སྒྲིང་།

rnying ma རྩིང་མ།

rta mgrin རྩ་མགོན།

rta mgrin bkra shis རྩ་མགོན་བརྒྱ་ཤིས།

rta mgrin dbang rgyal རྩ་མགོན་དབང་རྒྱལ།

rta mgrin mgon po thar རྩ་མགོན་མགོན་པོ་ཐར།

ru gsar རུ་གསར།

rus རུས།

S

sa skya ས་སྐྱ།

Sajinima སཱ་ཇི་ཉི་མ། (gsar brje nyi ma གསར་བརྩེ་མ།)

sangs rgyas སངས་རྒྱལ།

sangs rgyas sgrol ma སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱོལ་མ།

sde tsha སྡེ་ཚ།

sdong rgan thang སྡོང་རྒན་ཐང་། (Dongguotang 东果堂)

Se སེ (bse བསེ།)

seng khri སེང་ཁྲི།

Sgra dbyangs rgyal po'i mtshan སྐྱ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན།

sgra dbyangs སྐྱ་དབྱངས།

sgrol སྐྱོལ།

sgrol dkar skyid སྐྱོལ་དཀར་སྐྱིད།

sGrol ma (sgrol ma སྐྱོལ་མ།)

sgrol ma mtsho སྐྱོལ་མ་མཚོ།

sgrol ma rgya mtsho སྐྱོལ་མ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

Shaanxi 陕西

Shaanxi Normal University, Shaanxi shifan daxue 陕西师范大学

shag rdo skyid ཤག་ར་སྐྱིད།

shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring ཤེལ་འབྱུང་འཁོན་ཐར་ཚེ་རིང་།

shes rab bstan dar ཤེས་རབ་བསྟན་དར།

skal bzang སྐལ་བཟང་།

skal bzang 'bum སྐལ་བཟང་འབུམ།

skal bzang rgya mtsho སྐལ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

skal bzang rgyal སྐལ་བཟང་རྒྱལ།

skal bzang thar སྐལ་བཟང་ཐར་།
 skal bzang ting 'dzin rgyal སྐལ་བཟང་ཏིང་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་།
 ske ba སྐེ་བ།
 sku 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ།
 sku 'bum byams pa gling སྐུ་འབུམ་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་།
 skyabs སྐལ་པ་།
 skyid སྐྱིད།
 sKyid grong སྐྱིད་གྲོང་།
 sman sog bla ma སྐྱེན་སོག་བླ་མ།
 sngags pa སྔགས་པ།
 snying lcags rgyal སྙིང་ལུགས་རྒྱལ་།
 spyang ki སྤྱང་གི།
 sras mchog rdo rje rgyal སྤྲས་མཆོག་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་།
 srung ma སྤྲུང་མ།
 stobs chen rgyal སྟོབས་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་།
 stobs stag lha སྟོབས་སྟག་ལྷ།
 sum pa སུམ་པ།
 Suo nanji 索南吉 (bsod nams skyid བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱིད།)

T

tha shal ཐ་ཤལ།
 thar ཐར།
 thub bstan ཐུབ་བསྟན།
 Tai 太 (thar ཐར།)
 Tianzhu 天祝
 Tongren 同仁 (reb gong རེབ་གོང་།)
 tsha phug ཐ་ཕུག
 tshe brtan ཐེ་བརྟན།
 tshe brtan rdo rje ཐེ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ།
 tshe brtan rgyal ཐེ་བརྟན་རྒྱལ།
 tshe dbang ཐེ་དབང་།
 tshe dbang sgrol ma ཐེ་དབང་སྟོལ་མ།
 tshe dbang skyid ཐེ་དབང་སྐྱིད།
 tshe dpal rdo rje ཐེ་དཔལ་རྡོ་རྗེ།
 tshe gzungs ཐེ་གཟུངས།
 tshe gzungs sgrol ma ཐེ་གཟུངས་སྟོལ་མ།
 tshe gzungs skyid ཐེ་གཟུངས་སྐྱིད།

tshe kho ཚེ་ཁོ།
 tshe lo skyid ཚེ་ལོ་སྐྱིད།
 tshe mo rgyal ཚེ་མོ་རྒྱལ།
 tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་།
 tshe ring byams ཚེ་རིང་བྱམས།
 tshe ring don grub ཚེ་རིང་དོན་གྲུབ།
 tshe ring lha mo ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་མོ།
 tshe ring mtsho ཚེ་རིང་མཚོ།
 tshe ring rdo rje ཚེ་རིང་རྩེ།
 tshe ring rgyal ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ།
 tshe ring sgrol ma ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱོལ་མ།
 tshe ring skyid ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱིད།
 tshe ring thar ཚེ་རིང་ཐར།
 tshe skyid sgrol ma ཚེ་སྐྱིད་སྐྱོལ་མ།
 tshe thar 'bum ཚེ་ཐར་འབུམ།
 tsong kha pa ཙོང་ཁ་པ།

Tu 土

W

Wangmu 旺姆 (dbang mo དབང་མོ།)

Weidong 卫东

Wenchang 文昌 (bun khrang བུན་ཁྲང་།)

Wenchangji 文昌吉 (bun khrang skyid བུན་ཁྲང་སྐྱིད།)

Wenchangjia 文昌加 (bun khrang rgyal བུན་ཁྲང་རྒྱལ།)

Wenchangtai 文昌太 (bun khrang thar བུན་ཁྲང་ཐར།)

Wenchangzhuoma 文昌卓玛 (bun khrang sgrol ma བུན་ཁྲང་སྐྱོལ་མ།)

Wenge 文革

X

xian 先 (byams བྱམས།)

Xiawu 夏吾 (sha bo ཤ་བོ།)

Xiawucairang 夏吾才让 (sha bo tshe ring ཤ་བོ་ཚེ་རིང་།)

Xiawudongzhu 夏吾东主 (sha bo don grub ཤ་བོ་དོན་གྲུབ།)

Xiawuji 夏吾吉 (sha bo skyid ཤ་བོ་སྐྱིད།)

Xiawuzhuoma 夏吾卓玛 (sha bo sgrol ma ཤ་བོ་སྐྱོལ་མ།)

Xiluo 西洛 (shi log ཤི་ལོག་།)

Xingfu 幸福 (bde skyid བདེ་སྐྱིད།)

Xingqier 星期二 (gza' mig dmar གཟའ་མིག་དམར།)

Xingqiliu 星期六 (gza' spen pa གཟའ་སྤེན་པ།)

Xizang shifan zhuanke xuexiao 西藏师范专科学校

Y

yag ཡག

Yangjin 央金 (dbyangs can དབྱངས་ཅན།)

Yang 央 (g.yang གཡང་།)

ye shes ཡེ་ཤེས།

ye shes mtsho ཡེ་ཤེས་མཚོ།

ye shes rgya mtsho ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

yul lha tshe ring ཡུལ་ལྷ་ཚེ་རིང་།

yul shul ཡུལ་སུལ།

Z

Zhandou 战斗

Zhen 珍 (sgron ལྷོན།)

zhi'u ཞི་འུ (Xiewu 歇武)

Zhuoma 卓玛 (sgrol ma ལྷོ་ལ་མ།)

Zhwa dmar ཞྩ་དམར།

Zi ling ཞི་ལིང་།

zla ba ལྷ་བ།

Zong 宗 ('dzoms འཛོམས།)

THE MOUNTAIN CHANGERS: LIFESTYLE MIGRATION IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

Gary Sigley (Asian Studies, The University of Western Australia)

ABSTRACT

In the early twenty-first century, the People's Republic of China (PRC) continues its remarkable transformation that encompasses all facets of social life. One of the most significant, visible forms of such change is urbanization. Chinese cities are rapidly expanding and, according to some reports, will grow by a staggering 400 million people over the next several decades. In just under forty years China will have transformed from a predominantly rural to urban society, a pace of urbanization not matched in previous human experience. Yet while migration in China has in recent decades been overwhelmingly of people moving from the countryside to the city, and to a lesser extent (but also quite large given the size of China's population) migration of more well educated urbanites and professionals between cities, there has been a small flow of people in the other direction, that is, of those leaving the metropolises of the eastern seaboard to seek out alternative lifestyles in the mountains of western China, and in particular to places like Yunnan in the southwest. These are akin to the "sea changers" and "tree changers" found in more affluent Western societies and can be included in the relatively new phenomenon of "lifestyle migration." This paper provides a preliminary overview of this phenomenon in the context of Dali, a prefectural city in Yunnan Province.

INTRODUCTION

At 12:20 pm on the 19th of February 2013, when I saw the exit sign on the expressway for 'Dali Xiaguan', I wanted to cry! Beijing - Zhengzhou - Lichuan - Chongqing - Kunming - Dali, we took this route as we drove our own car on a journey of 3,090 kilometers. We left behind a familiar city and now have a new life in a strange place. We don't know how long we will be here. Everything is to be decided by how we feel day by day (Iko 2013).¹

This quotation captures the essence of this paper in three key ways. It summarizes the lifestyle migration dream of a growing cohort of Chinese and foreigners looking for somewhere to live beyond the pressures, congestion, and pollution of the Chinese metropolis. It evokes the emotional attachment people can have to place in this quest for a better life, even a place they hardly know or have never visited. And it demonstrates the importance of modern transport networks as conduits for migration and the freedom embodied, literally, on the "open road." As the Chinese population, economy, culture, and global footprint grows ever larger, the use of modern technologies of movement and communication actually make it smaller. The mountains looming in the far west that for centuries conjured up images of the edges of civilization are now closer than ever. More than that, they have become desirable. That the quotation refers to Dali, a small prefectural city in Yunnan Province, is even more apposite, for Dali has become the Chinese Mecca for lifestyle migration and is the pivotal focus here. Not every story that begins with tears of joy and feelings of jubilation ends in contentment and bliss. The minutiae of daily life in an unfamiliar place can quickly dispel misconceptions and illusions. This paper seeks to explore these issues in detail and bring to light the changing dynamics of relations between people and place in a rapidly changing China.

¹ I thank Zhao Ziyi, Brian Kirbis, Gerry Groot, Doug Smith, Warwick Powell, Gao Quan, Brian Linden, and two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. The author takes final responsibility for the paper.

In the early twenty-first century, the People's Republic of China (PRC) continues its remarkable transformation, one that encompasses all facets of social life. Urbanization is one of the most significant and visible forms of social change. Chinese cities are rapidly expanding and, according to some reports, will grow by a staggering 400 million people over the next several decades. In just under forty years, China will have transformed from a predominantly rural to urban society, a pace of urbanization not matched in previous human experience. The expansive deltas, such as those on the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers, and other major political and economic hubs, like Beijing and Chongqing, will become mega-metropolises home to tens of millions of people. If this is not enough, there will be several hundred almost nondescript "smaller" cities with populations of more than a million. And thanks to declines in fertility, China's population growth rate will have slowed considerably. Nonetheless, the overall population will still be a formidable 1.6 billion by 2050. During this process vast swathes of rural land and countless villages will be expropriated by the seemingly ever expanding cities. Mao Zedong described the peasant revolution as a strategic process of "the countryside surrounding the cities," but now in the urban revolution the situation is tipped on its head as the cities surround and literally consume the countryside.

Image 1. The character depicted here - *chai* 'demolish' is often painted on buildings that are to be demolished during a process of residential or commercial construction. As Chinese cities have been transformed the *chai* character can be widely seen across both urban and rural landscapes. This process of demolition and construction, however, is not just physical. *Chai* is also a metaphor for "destroying the old to build the new." That is, the "old" society of the Maoist and Dengist eras is being demolished and something "new" is being constructed in its place. This is taking place in the cities and countryside of the eastern seaboard, and also in the mountains of western China. Seemingly no part of China is escaping the influence of *chai*.²

² All images are the author's unless otherwise indicated.



Rural to urban migration is of course a key feature of this process. Migrant workers from the countryside are moving to the

cities and industrial zones *en masse* to work in factories, on constructions sites, as domestic help, and to take on many dirty, dangerous and menial jobs that local urban residents deem undesirable. Migrants are seeking to make a better life for themselves and their families. As they do so they also send remittances back to the villages and in turn help to improve the lot of those who are left behind. In a land of over one billion people it is dangerous to generalize and not every story of migration is necessarily a happy one, and not everyone who is left behind - usually the young, old and infirm - finds their lot improved.³ There are standard narratives of migration in the mainstream media that celebrate the transformative effects it has in turning *disuzhi* 'low quality' peasants into *wenming* 'civilized' citizens. The reality is a lot more complex and the challenges faced by migrants are daunting. China, through the system of *hukou* 'household registration', continues to have serious impediments restricting migrant workers' access to key services in urban areas such as health and education. But even so, these obstacles, along with the general sense of unaffordability, have not detracted from the relative desirability of urban living.

The force behind this migration - its condition of existence, the thing that makes it possible - is mobility. We live in the most mobile age of human existence. "Mobility," and the "compulsion to mobility" (Urry 2007), has been described as one of the characteristic features of our modernity. During the Maoist period (1949-1976) human mobility was severely restricted. The aforementioned system of household registration tied people to place. Movement between locations required official permission. Rationing, especially in the cities, meant that outsiders would have had a difficult time acquiring the necessities of life even if they ever happened to find themselves in an urban context without official sanction. Mass migration during this period was a rare event and only occurred with the approval of the Party-state, such as during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

³ The plight of those left behind was tragically brought to recent national and worldwide attention by the suicide of four "left behind" siblings (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/14/chinese-police-investigating-deaths-of-left-behind-children-find-suicide-note>, accessed 20 July 2015).

when the young *hongweibing* 'Red Guards' were provided subsidized travel to trek across the length and breadth of the nation both learning from the masses and spreading Maoist revolution. As I shall show, some of those young revolutionaries ended up in the very borderlands of China in Yunnan Province.

Image 2. Left: Participants at a tea conference walk on the "Ancient Tea Horse Road" in Puer, Yunnan. In the background is the construction of China's first international expressway linking Kunming and Bangkok (now completed). Right: One of the tallest bridges in the world (the Honghe Bridge) is part of the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway and a good example of the engineering challenges in road construction in mountainous Yunnan. Journeys through mountainous Yunnan that took weeks or even months now only take a matter of hours thanks to the terraforming transformation of modern day transport infrastructure.



In short, the reform period has witnessed a remarkable shift in the ability of people to move freely. This has been important for urbanization, but also for facilitating new industries that depend on travel, such as tourism, and ushering in the age of the privately owned automobile (automobility). On this front, the government has invested considerable resources in building a modern transport infrastructure that is the bedrock of people's ability to be mobile. This is akin to a kind of terraforming in which the landscape is literally cut, blasted, tunneled, and moved, facilitating mobility in the process and having an almost exponential effect on many forms of social,

economic, and cultural activity in its wake. As I show below, this is no mean feat in southwest China with its mountains, gorges, and swift flowing rivers. One of Mao Zedong's famous essays, that most Chinese at the time could recite verbatim, concerned the Chinese fable of the *yugong yi shan* 'foolish old man who moved the mountain'. In this essay, Mao exhorted the reader to use sheer willpower and determination to reshape society in his revolutionary image. Now equipped with the resources, it seems that the engineering capability and a modernizing mentality (old fashioned "nation building") the Communist Party of China (CPC) is literally following through with the exhortation to *yishan tianhai* 'move mountains and fill oceans'. The remotest corners of China are being connected. This essay partly seeks to highlight the significance of the changes that this brings.

Yet while migration in China has in recent decades been overwhelmingly of people moving from the countryside to the city, and to a lesser extent (but also quite large given the size of China's population) migration of more well-educated urbanites and professionals between cities, there has been a small flow of people in the other direction, that is, of those leaving the metropolises of the eastern seaboard to seek out alternative lifestyles in the mountains of western China and, in particular, to places like Yunnan in the southwest. These are akin to the "sea changers" and "tree changers" found in more affluent Western societies (Osbaldeston 2010) and can be included in the relatively new phenomenon of "lifestyle migration." In this essay I will refer to these migrants as "mountain changers" and note that their ranks include Chinese citizens as well as many foreigners who call China home.

The remainder of this essay is divided into two sections. The first section provides a historical overview of Yunnan Province and the prefectural city of Dali with an emphasis on migration and place identity. In noting the historical significance of migration and trade through China's southwest, this section concludes by exploring how in the post-1978 reform period the forces of transport infrastructure construction, the rise of foreign and domestic tourism, and the renewed search for places of respite and escape from the negativities of urban life, combine to work towards reshaping Yunnan's image,

and in particular Dali, as a desirable destination for short and long-term residence. In terms of Dali, this section examines the construction of nostalgic, fantastical, and romantic Chinese imaginaries through film and literature, namely, the films *Wu duo jin hua* 'Five Golden Flowers' (1959), *Xinhua nufang* 'Breakup Buddies' (2014), and the popular novel *Tianlong babu* 'Heavenly Dragons' (1963).

The second section examines the influx of the "mountain changers" to Dali. Comparisons with the phenomenon of lifestyle migration abroad and the current state of research in this field are also made. Once the broad parameters are laid out the paper begins to explore the particular "Chinese characteristics" of the "mountain changer" experience. Particular reference is made to the deployment of the Chinese cultural concept of *jianghu* 'rivers and lakes' as a means of highlighting certain autochthonous elements. The lifestyle migration experience of Dali appears to have a broader socioeconomic basis than those studied in Western contexts. In this sense, and through a study of the case of globalized, cosmopolitan and *jianghu* space of Renmin lu 'People's Road' in Dali, I conclude by highlighting certain unique features of Dali's mountain changer culture.

SECTION ONE: MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND PLACE IMAGINATION IN YUNNAN

In Lincang Prefecture, a rural subtropical area in southwest Yunnan near the borders of Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam, a group of 150 people from different walks of life came together to create the Shengming chanyuan 'New Oasis for Life Commune' (Levin 2014). This Buddhist inspired community sought to create a self-sustaining and spiritual alternative to what they regard as an alienating and materialistic society found in the sprawling cities of modern China. As is discussed further below, these people are drawing upon a long Chinese tradition of escape to the mountains for the purposes of solitude, meditation, and respite. What is interesting about the New Oasis instance is the choice of location. To have created such a

community in Lincang before 1978, or even before 1949, would have been extremely difficult. Lincang is a border region that for most of its history has been inhabited by various non-Han minorities. It was a remote and often dangerous place for the unwary visitor, a place that James C Scott (2010) regards as part of a larger highland zone he calls "Zomia" that for much of history was beyond the immediate reach of centralized states. But times have changed and the once "remote" and "dangerous" places have now been made "accessible" and "tame." Unfortunately for the members of this community, the local authorities looked upon this religiously inspired endeavor with great skepticism and used various measures to make them disband.

I use this example as a small vignette to highlight the emergence of alternative community construction and lifestyle migration in contemporary China. Until more recently, urban and industrial development in China has been largely concentrated along the eastern seaboard. This is not surprising given the natural and historical advantages eastern China possesses. Most of the population live there; it has excellent access to sea ports; and the river deltas and plains are conducive to the construction of transport networks, the development of agriculture to sustain life, and so on. Yet as economic growth accelerated during the 1990s and beyond, the socio-economic gap between eastern and western China grew ever larger. While wealth transferal and economic development policies that sought to lift western China out of its developmental malaise had been in existence for many years, it was not until the central government launched the Xibu dakaifa 'Western Development' campaign in 2000 that significant amounts of resources were put into the serious development of western China (Goodman 2004).

Western China is a very large region and development has not been even. But it is fair to say that key pockets have, since 2000, received notable injections of funds to build the transport infrastructure required for "economic lift off." Some locations, such as those under scrutiny here, also have assets, in the form of natural beauty and historical/ cultural interest, that are conducive to tourism. Aside from the exploitation of mineral resources, which in many cases has had a deleterious effect on the local environment, these tourist zones are the "pockets" where development has been most

often concentrated. As noted, the focus of this essay is Yunnan Province, and in particular the prefectural city of Dali. As I shall soon show, it is Dali's natural beauty and historical and cultural features that make it attractive to both domestic and foreign tourists as well as the mountain changers.

Image 3. Map of the People's Republic of China. Dali is located in the southwest border province of Yunnan.⁴



The cities of Yunnan are now experiencing the urban expansion that cities in eastern China know only too well. With a population of six million, Kunming, the provincial capital, is by far the largest city in Yunnan (Yunnan has a total population of forty-five million with thirty-seven percent residing in urban areas). The skyline of Kunming now resembles those of other large Chinese cities with row after row of residential and commercial skyscrapers as far as the eye can see (Zhang 2010, Zhu 2002). The property boom has also

⁴ Source: <http://tinyurl.com/onlowch>, accessed 26 November 2015.

made its way to Yunnan's smaller cities, such as Jinghong, Tengchong, and Dali. In these locations there is a considerable proportion of new residential property that is targeted at eastern China's emerging middle-class who have enough disposable income to purchase an investment holiday home. Indeed, some tourist operators specialize in bringing in wealthy clients from the eastern seaboard specifically for the purpose of showcasing "holiday retreat" residences that include spas, saunas, entertainment facilities, and sometimes golf courses. That people are now considering moving to Yunnan, either permanently or on a seasonal basis, represents a remarkable shift in how Yunnan has been understood in the Chinese public imagination. Yunnan, or at least certain parts of Yunnan such as Dali, have transformed from places largely regarded as undesirable to destinations that are now much sought after for temporary respite or a more permanent lifestyle change.⁵

Yunnan has been an important destination and thoroughfare for migration for thousands of years.⁶ Since its proper incorporation into the Chinese dynastic state during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), wave after wave of Han Chinese migrants, mainly travelling from Sichuan down through Zhaotong Prefecture, moved to Yunnan and settled in one of the many fertile basins scattered throughout the mountainous terrain. The migration was not always exclusively of the Han Chinese. Certain larger basins were already occupied by other ethnic minorities such as the Dai in Sipsongpanna (Ch: Xishuangbanna), or the Naxi in Lijiang, and for our interests here, by the Bai people in Dali. Other minority groups such as the Yi recount tales of migrating from China's northwest. Indeed, Yunnan has been a very ethnically diverse region for a very long time. There has also been a lot of fluid cross-marriage and cross-assimilation (that is, of

⁵ The international dimensions of this migration transformation are evident in a golf resort on the outskirts of Kunming developed by Singaporean developers targeting both domestic and Singaporean visitors, with permanent villas and condos. Singapore is now within six hours of Kunming making this flow of capital and people conceivable and realizable. I thank Warwick Powell for reminding me of this particular instance.

⁶ See Giersch (2006), Lee (2000), Mullaney (2011), and Yang (2008) for more detailed historical work on Yunnan.

ethnic minorities "becoming Han," and of Han "becoming other ethnicities").

Yunnan became an important border region through which a number of historic trading and migration routes pass that have for millennia connected the *zhongyuan* 'central plains' of eastern China to Mainland Southeast Asia and beyond. Most notably these include the Nanfang sichou zhilu 'Southern Silk Road' and Chama gudao 'Ancient Tea Horse Road' (Sigley 2013). The caravan traders also settled across Southeast Asia, in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.⁷

Nonetheless, Yunnan also had a reputation as a dangerous frontier zone. To get there from the "central plains" was a difficult journey of several months. Yunnan was seen by many Han to be inhabited by savage barbarians, infested with life-threatening diseases and miasmas, not to mention wild man-eating beasts. Not surprisingly Yunnan was used by the dynastic state as a destination for political and criminal exile (often a life sentence in which those being exiled would take their entire families with them). Some of the areas that were sparsely populated by the Han were sites for the establishment of *bingtuan* 'military colonies', a colonizing and control strategy used by the dynastic state in remote border regions.

This practice continued after the CPC took control in 1949, especially in the far western region of Xinjiang. This image of Yunnan as an undesirable destination persisted until the 1970s when Red Guards from other parts of China as far away as Shanghai, were sent to the subtropical environment of Sipsongpanna to assist in the development of China's infant rubber industry. The stories of the hardship faced by these young urbanites were captured post-1978 in

⁷ We are reminded in recent years of the continued importance of this land route by the attempts of North Korean refugees and discontented Uighur to leave China via Yunnan into Southeast Asia. In terms of the former see "US concern over N Korea refugees 'returned by Laos,'" <http://tinyurl.com/hhezumh>, accessed 7 July 2015; 'South Korea wants 'defector' orphans protected', <http://tinyurl.com/jk4kdoy>, accessed 7 July 2015. Regarding the latter, consider the Uighurs who were the assailants at the 1 March 2014 Kunming railway station attack. It was reported that the assailants had originally sought to leave China via Laos (see <http://tinyurl.com/jutgqzr>, accessed 7 July 2015).

memoirs and television dramas. Needless to say the vast majority returned to eastern China at the first opportunity.

Image 4. A snippet from a billboard advertisement for Puer tea located in busy Jinghong Airport. The mountain is Kawagarbo (Ch: Meilixueshan) located on the Yunnan border with the Tibet Autonomous Region. At 6,740 meters it is the tallest mountain in Yunnan. In the bottom left-hand corner is a typical Puer tea cake (a form of compressed tea that makes it convenient for storage, transport, and exchange). Next to the tea cake is a horse caravan making its way on the Ancient Tea Horse Road. The trees on either side are free standing ancient tea trees. From the perspective of hegemonic pedagogics the tea road here serves to draw the observer's attention to the historic role the tea trade played in uniting the diverse peoples in this region, especially between Yunnan and Tibet. It also nostalgically harks back to a time when mobility was more quaint and at a pace far removed from the speeds of today.



However, as China entered the 1980s, and especially the 1990s, Yunnan's somewhat negative image began changing in part due to the rapid development of domestic tourism. In the 1990s, as disposable incomes began rising, the Chinese authorities revealed plans to develop a large-scale domestic tourism industry. Yunnan, and in particular Sipsongpanna, Dali, and Lijiang, is a main

destination. The tourism development plan has been extremely successful. Total tourism revenue in 1995 was six billion yuan. By 2011 it had reached 130 billion yuan (*2012 Yunnan Province Statistical Yearbook*). Alongside tobacco and pharmaceuticals (the latter stems from Yunnan's rich botanical diversity), tourism is now one of Yunnan's most important industries.

Thus by the turn of the twenty-first century, Yunnan retained the image of an exotic destination, but one that had been "tamed" and made "safe," at least in the areas frequented by tourists. At first the Chinese tourists were only short term visitors. Most joined organized tourist groups working within a specific system of tourism agents, accommodation, *jingqu* 'scenic zones', and so on (Nyiri 2006). Over time, however, as the Chinese tourism and leisure market began to diversify, other independent travelers arrived on the scene, both in the form of backpackers and small groups of family members and/ or friends. New tourism locations not on the official mass tourism circuit began to open up, catering, for example, to the interests of hikers, birdwatchers, and nature photographers. This diversification in turn enabled more flexible itineraries and for people to stay in one place for longer periods, something that was impossible on a fixed mass tourism itinerary.

To return to the theme of mobility, the development of a modern transport infrastructure is a main factor enabling this transformation in Yunnan's fortunes. During the 1980s and 1990s, the mass tourism market relied mainly on the construction of airports at key tourism destinations within Yunnan. The road networks between Yunnan's cities and regions remained very basic even by the early 1990s. My first journey from Kunming to Dali in 1992 took over seventeen hours. With the construction of a modern expressway that journey now takes five hours.

Image 5. Chinese tourists follow their local Bai guide on a tour of Foreigner Street in Dali. Fortunately the megaphones of days gone by have now been replaced by wireless microphones and headpieces.



The development of a modern transport infrastructure, the expansion of affordable public transport, and the rise of private motor vehicle ownership have all contributed to reducing what is required to move from one place to another physically and temporally. This has been referred to in other contexts as "time-space compression" (Harvey 1990), "time-space distancing" (Giddens 1990), and "automobility" (Featherstone 2004). Such terms suggest that once inaccessible and undesirable regions and destinations are now easily accessible, facilitating the movement of people for purposes such as employment, tourism, and lifestyle migration. Dali has become one of the most desirable destinations in Yunnan in this regard. It is therefore appropriate to now provide some background to Dali itself and outline certain features that make it a popular destination for short and long-term visits.

Image 6. A tourist map of Dali. The Cangshan Mountain range is on the left. Xiaguan, the new administrative and commercial center, is situated at the bottom left of Erhai Lake. "Dali Old Town" appears on this map as "Dali Ancient City."



Dali: A Cosmopolitan Town on Ancient Trading and Migration Routes

Dali is an ancient town occupying a premier location on the shores of Erhai Lake at the feet of the Cangshan Mountains (the highest peak rises to 4,100 meters). Sitting at an elevation of 2,200 meters and at a low latitude, Dali has a pleasant yearlong climate. The ancient town is located on an important crossroads from which one can travel west to Myanmar (Burma), northwest to Tibet (through Lijiang and Deqin), north to Sichuan, and southeast to Kunming and beyond (Sipsongpanna, Laos, and Thailand). Both the aforementioned Southern Silk Road⁸ and Ancient Tea Horse Road pass through Dali. Indeed, Dali is a key trading post in an economic macro-region that includes markets as distant as Nepal and India (along with other locations listed above). Each year in the third month of the lunar calendar, Dali hosts the Sanyuejie⁹ 'Third Month Street' Festival, a combination of cultural and sporting festivities, religious worship, and trade fair that has for centuries been attracting visitors and traders from near and far. There is, for example, a special section for Tibetan traders, even to this day.

⁸ The importance of the Southern Silk Road cannot be underestimated. Although not as well-known as its northern cousin, which crosses the land bridge connecting China to the Middle East via Central Asia, the Southern Silk Road was the preferred route for traders and pilgrims when conditions in Central Asia became unstable and dangerous. The Southern Silk Road terminated in Myanmar where it connected to the Maritime Silk Road, thereby allowing the traveller to journey to the Middle East (and beyond) via India and the Red Sea.

⁹ Here *jie* 'street' refers to the system of local markets that were once common all across China, but which nowadays are only found in certain parts of Western China and are even then gradually disappearing. These markets had different frequencies, some being weekly, every ten days, once a month, or once a year. Yunnanese sometimes refer to these markets as *ganjie* 'going to the street'. The Dali Third Month Street Festival is actually based on an annual *luomahui* 'horse and mule market' of great antiquity and importance (the Song Dynasty actively sought out the horses of Dali to strengthen the ranks of its army), which were once common across Yunnan, but are now only found in several more remote mountain locations.

Image 7. Third Month Street Festival collage. Clockwise from top left-hand corner: a Tibetan mother and daughter run a Tibetan goods stall at the festival; an indistinguishable (could be a Chinese ethnic group, could be Hawaiian!) dance promoting precious stones and jade from Myanmar; mules for sale at the horse and mule market; and a local Bai music orchestra.



The Third Month Street Festival traces its history to the Nanzhao Kingdom (738-902), an independent kingdom sometimes in allegiance with the neighboring Tang Dynasty, sometimes allied with the Tibetan kingdom (Tubo), and sometimes at war with both (Backus 1982). The Nanzhao was powerful in its own right and at its peak controlled a vast territory and tributary system extending into mainland Southeast Asia and the plains of Sichuan (in 829 the

Nanzhao army sacked the Chinese city of Chengdu). The local Bai inhabitants of contemporary Dali claim to be the direct descendants of the Nanzhao.¹⁰ As shown below, the Nanzhao now features prominently in the contemporary imaginary of Dali, mainly through the fictional fantasy work of Louis Cha/ Jin Yong.

The Nanzhao was in turn followed by the Dali Kingdom (973-1253) that cooperated closely with the then ruling Song Dynasty. It was weaker and smaller than the Nanzhao Kingdom. It was during this time that Buddhism became well-established in the region. Many of the Dali kings abdicated the throne to spend the remainder of their lives in contemplative meditation. The Dali Kingdom was in turn conquered by the Mongols in 1253, signaling incorporation into the Chinese dynastic state. Dali, the political, cultural, and economic center of Yunnan, at this point gave up this position of importance to Kunming.

During the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, not much of major historical importance occurred in Dali, save for the few decades of the Panthay Rebellion (1856-1873) when Dali became the capital of a short lived sultanate.¹¹ Over half a century later during World War Two,¹² Dali became an important Chinese and Allied transport hub in the war with the Japanese Imperial Army. Indeed, the horse and mule caravans for which Dali was famous reached their peak during this period. A number of merchant families became extremely wealthy and built luxurious mansion and villas, such as those in Xizhou Village. Some even emulated modern forms of architecture and art deco that were all the rage in faraway Shanghai and other metropolitan centers.

Dali played an important role in frontier history as a polity that was for many centuries situated between other powerful states, notably the Han Chinese state to the north, the Tibetans to the west,

¹⁰ I have heard similar claims by members of the Yi ethnic group in nearby Weishan.

¹¹ The Panthay Rebellion was a multiethnic uprising led by Chinese Muslims (or Huizu 'Hui' as they are also commonly known). The Hui were well-established residents and traders along the ancient trading routes and have a strong presence in Yunnan to this day (see Atwell 2005).

¹² In China, it is known as the "War of Resistance Against Japan."

and the Burmese to the south. In many respects Dali developed a cosmopolitan culture, a common feature of settlements on important trading routes. Dali was a major conduit for the movement of people, commodities, and ideas such as Buddhism. I will later return to this point about Dali's relative openness and tolerance of other peoples and cultures.

Dali in the Contemporary Chinese Imagination: From Liberation to Tourism, From Revolution to Fantasy

The next major event for our purposes is the "liberation" of Dali in 1950. The Maoist period (1949-1976) ushered in a period of relative isolation for China's southwest border regions. With the Chinese borders closed and tightly policed, the historic role of places like Dali as conduits for trade and people is drastically curtailed. However, Dali did not totally disappear from the national imaginary. Indeed, through the production of the 1959 film *Five Golden Flowers*, Dali catapults to national fame. Probably for the first time in its history, Dali became a household word, a place associated with beautiful and exotic minorities, majestic mountains, crystal clear lakes, and rich flora and fauna, especially butterflies and cormorants, the latter trained to catch fish in Erhai Lake.¹³

The film documents the story of a Han Chinese film crew seeking to record local Bai folk music and customs. It involves a light-hearted love story between a young Bai couple. Compared to the stiff and dull revolutionary movies that followed in the next few decades when Maoist puritanism reigned supreme, *Five Golden Flowers* was a welcome source of entertainment. The frenzy of the Great Leap Forward (1957) is the background political setting for the film in a society experiencing the ongoing tumults of revolution. It was thus extremely popular at the time. It was later charged by the Maoists as being reactionary and disappeared from screens until the late 1970s.

¹³ The following section depends heavily on the excellent work of Notar (2006).

Nevertheless, the memory of its scenes and stories was deeply implanted in the Chinese imagination.

Image 8. Jinhua and Ahpeng, the female and male Bai protagonists in the 1959 film *Five Golden Flowers*.¹⁴



It is thus unsurprising that when the local authorities, following the call of the central and provincial governments to develop domestic tourism, began marketing Dali as a tourist destination for Chinese tourists that scenes and stories from the *Five Golden Flowers* featured prominently. Imagination and travel are bound together. As Notar (2006) has noted, the attractions developed around the film were the only source of real interest in Dali for many Chinese tourists. To cater to and stimulate this interest, the local authorities and tourism developers begin to shape Dali into a kind of "Five Golden Flowers Theme Park."

It must be noted that *Five Golden Flowers* only triggers an emotional and nostalgic response in those of a certain generation. For cohorts born in the decades after the 1970s it holds little appeal, and

¹⁴ Source: <http://tinyurl.com/p93d8n8>, accessed 26 November 2015.

the revolutionary themes come across as dated and tired compared to the flashy films of the present day. Not to be outdone, authorities dug deeper and this time decided to draw upon the representations of Dali, and in particular the historic Nanzhao Kingdom, that are depicted in the fantasy novel *Heavenly Dragons* by Hong Kong author Louis Cha. *Heavenly Dragons* is in the classic style of the Chinese knight-errant story with complex plotlines involving competing schools of martial arts and magic. It is a genre much loved by Chinese readers and Louis Cha is regarded as the most accomplished writer in this style.¹⁵ One appeal of this kind of fiction is the world of drifters, troubadours, travelers, and scoundrels (good, bad, and ambiguous) who operate in a murky world somewhere between state and society. The Chinese refer to this social milieu as *jianghu* 'the land of rivers and lakes', making reference to an impenetrable zone inhabited by outsiders. The theme is a much used trope in Chinese literature and popular culture such as in the classic novel *Outlaws of the Marsh* (circa twelfth century). *Jianghu* is a useful concept for describing part of the mountain changer culture in Dali and I will return to it below.

On the basis of the scenic attractions associated with *The Five Golden Flowers* and *Heavenly Dragons*, as Notar further notes, "Dali itself can become a theme park" (2006:100). I also add to this "theme parkization" the redevelopment of Dali Old Town itself. The broadening of the main road and conversion into a pedestrian mall confirms the convergence of consumerism and the touristic experience. Dali has thus been refashioned into a pastiche and collage of images that are at once historical, national, ethnic, fantastical, and global. Some of this serves a well-discussed (Anagnost 1997, Oakes 1998) pedagogic function to educate both tourist and local subject on the essentialized unity of the multiethnic Party-state, providing a sense of cohesion and a normative backdrop against which to indulge in nostalgia and measure progress, i.e., to measure one's own progress against those more "backward."

¹⁵ For those unfamiliar with his work, the style is similar to that depicted in the successful Ang Lee (2000) film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*.

Image 9. The main entrance to the Dali Heavenly Dragons Film Studio Theme Park.¹⁶



Mobility is a key ingredient in this discursive mix. Indeed, mobility was itself seen as a pedagogic and transformative tool early on in the reform period. The aforementioned Maoist rustification movement of the 1960s and 1970s also contains elements of subjective transformation attached to mobility, but I will not labor that point here.

In the 1980s and 1990s, rural to urban migration was seen as a way to raise the *suzhi* 'human quality' of rural dwellers. Urbanites traveling to western China as tourists were also seen to positively raise farmer "human quality" through some form of exemplary osmosis by expressing *xianjin shenghuo fangshi* 'advanced ways of life' that ruralites would emulate (Chio 2014).

Dali has recently added another arrow to its tourism quiver, this time in the form of a more youthful interest in sexual experience

¹⁶ Source: <http://tinyurl.com/otdl32t>, accessed 26 November 2015.

and romance. During the reform period, China has witnessed the emergence of a self-orientated culture of romance, dating, and "one night stands" that appear in stark contrast to the sexual conservatism and puritanism of the Maoist era (Farrer 2002, Sigley 2006). This culture is more prevalent in the cohorts born in the 1980s and 1990s and permeates almost all aspects of popular youth culture including literature, music, and film. The sense of independence, self-growth, and discovery that is part of youth travel as a backpacker or independent traveler also contains a strong sense of sexual exploration and fulfilment. Once again imagination, but this time in the sense of sexual/ romantic imaginaries and travel, is bound together with destinations such as Dali and nearby Lijiang having gained reputations as places for sexual gratification, if not love and romance.

This depiction of the coupling of place and sexual desire was captured in *Breakup Buddies* (2014), a film post-dating Notar's (2006) examination of the *Five Golden Flowers* and *Heavenly Dragons* phenomenon. The film did extremely well in the box office, breaking numerous Chinese cinema records. *Breakup Buddies* is a road film cum romantic comedy telling the story of a young man in Beijing who, having just broken up with his girlfriend, takes to the road with his "best buddy" to end up on the shores of Erhai Lake where a romantic entanglement with another woman takes place. It is the contemporary Chinese version of the road trip, a film based on mobility, travel, and romance. The film speaks directly to the reform era generations, to the omnipresence of digital communication, and the apparent ease (for some) of hopping into a car and embracing the "freedom of the open road." Dali serves as the place of the "exotic other" blessed with clean air, beautiful scenery, and unique cultures where one's fantasies can be played out beyond the stifling confines of the eastern metropolis.

Chinese informants in Dali commented that the numbers of visitors increased noticeably in the wake of the success of *Breakup Buddies*. But I am getting ahead of our chronology here. Before the Chinese themselves rediscovered Dali it was the foreign backpacker who paved the way, a process of discovery to which I now focus on.

Image 10. Left: The three main protagonists from the 2014 film *Breakup Buddies*.¹⁷ Right: A shop sign in Dali cashing in on the search for romance by whimsically suggesting that in addition to "pizza" and "wireless networks" you can also find "affairs" within.



Dali and the Foreign Imagination: From Colonial Adventures to Global Lonely Planetes

As far as foreign knowledge is concerned, Dali was relatively unknown to the outside world until the 1980s. Dali was mentioned in a number of travelogues by foreign travelers and adventurers, most famously by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, although it is unlikely he ever visited the area. In the nineteenth century, Southwest China became a favored destination for the famous "flower hunters" who came to high altitudes in search of new varieties of camellia, rhododendron, azaleas, primulas, and other exotic flowering species to adorn the gardens of the emerging middle-classes in the United Kingdom, Europe, Australia, and North America (Gribbin and Gribbin 2008, Mueggler 2011). In the first decades of the twentieth century, rival British and French governments considered the feasibility of constructing road and rail networks via Southeast Asia and Yunnan that would provide a "backdoor" to the eastern Chinese market. As Arthur Purdy Stout (1912:33) put it:

¹⁷ Source: <http://tinyurl.com/olmxsj7>, accessed 26 November 2015.

The story of exploration in Yun-nan, the southwest corner of the Chinese Empire, by foreigners has in almost every instance, been inspired by the desire of the English and French to draw the trade of western China on the one hand towards the Indian Ocean and on the other towards the Gulf of Tonkin and the China Sea.

Western Catholic and Protestant missionaries also established themselves in places like Dali and the surrounding region with varying degrees of conversion success (not much success among the Bai) (Glover et al. 2011). The Sinologist, CP Fitzgerald (1941), offered a fascinating account of his year in Dali (1938) in *Tower of the Five Glories*. Other than that, Dali remained relatively obscure in the foreign mindset until China's doors were once again opened in the 1980s.

As noted above, after 1949 the Chinese borders closed, the foreigners of Dali either left, were jailed, or were deported. From that time until the early 1980s as the "bamboo curtain" fell, foreigners had little access to China, let alone Dali, and the only news was via the official Chinese media and films such as the *Five Golden Flowers*. As China entered the period of *gaige kaifang* 'reform and openness' in the late 1970s, the borders were again reopened, and adventurous foreign tourists were some of the first to revisit Dali after a hiatus of thirty years. These were the first wave of backpackers, or "lonely planeters," the latter referring to the pivotal importance of *The Lonely Planet* travel guide in providing basic information on travel, accommodation, culture, and what to do and see for the intrepid traveler. "Intrepid" is the appropriate term as it conveys how difficult it was to reach places like Dali, a point I noted above based on personal experience. It is also important to stress the significance of *The Lonely Planet* in mapping out an itinerary that made it possible for foreign travelers with little or no command of Chinese to reach the desired destination. During the 1980s, Dali became a well-established destination on a Yunnan backpacker itinerary that included Kunming, Dali, Lijiang, and Zhongdian, the latter renamed "Shangrila" (Xianggelila) for place-branding purposes.

A number of local Dali entrepreneurs made good use of the opportunity to establish cafes, restaurants, tour guide services, and bicycle hires. At first, all foreign visitors were obliged to stay in state-run guesthouses, but later official approval was given to establish budget hostels. The foreign backpacker and the tourism service system that was established to cater to their specific needs and interests represents Dali's first reintegration with a globalizing world, and the rediscovery of Dali's historical position outlined above as a cosmopolitan conduit for the movement of people, commodities, and ideas.

This scenario also represents the first contemporary coming together of local Bai culture and outside consumers that works towards creating a "touristic culture" amenable to the foreign tourist gaze. This "gaze" is quite distinct from the domestic Chinese "gaze." The former is not informed at all by films such as *The Five Golden Flowers* or books such as *Heavenly Dragons*. While foreigners are seemingly more interested in "authentic" local culture, they also come to consume that culture within a given system of cultural provision. Ironically *Lonely Planet* provides the knowledge for the adventurous backpacker to get "off the beaten track" and discover an "authentic experience." Yet, over time as the number of lonely planetters increased, the itinerary became a popular "off the beaten track" that eventually included a range of services that make the experience less "authentic" and more conducive to a globalizing backpacker lifestyle that included comfort zones such as cafes and bars serving foreign beverages and such food as the iconic banana pancake.

An interesting twist demonstrating the multilayered complexity of the tourism phenomenon in Dali was the authorities renaming a street that was the first focus of cafes, restaurants, and hostels catering to the foreign market. It was renamed Yangren jie 'Foreigner Street', an indication and recognition of the important role foreign tourists had in establishing the Dali tourist scene. With the influx of hordes of domestic Chinese tourists Foreigner Street has become a set part of the tourist schedule. These days while visiting Foreigner Street, you are more likely to see groups of Chinese tourists being led by local Bai women tour guides clad in ethnic dress strolling past cafes and restaurants that now cater more to Chinese visitors

than to foreigners (see Image 5). As discussed below, the action has moved to People's Road. Notar (2006:1) observes that,

Whereas they [foreign backpackers] had once congregated in this borderland town in the Himalayan foothills of southwest China to get off the beaten track and view exotic minority peoples, *they* were now the objects of exotic interest for crowds of cosmopolitan Chinese tourists. (emphasis in the original)

With the popularization of mobility the tourist gaze has been "democratized."

Image 11. The street in Dali Old Town that was home to the first foreigner orientated bars, cafes, and restaurants that became such a popular novelty that it was renamed Foreigner Street. Ironically, groups of Chinese tourists now take guided tours of Foreigner Street to soak up the "exotic" ambience and perhaps catch a glimpse of "foreign tourists in their natural setting." The further irony is that now Foreigner Street has been largely redeveloped to cater to the tastes of domestic Chinese tourists.



The fact that the Old Town of Dali and the new town of Xiaguan are separated by a distance of approximately twenty kilometers has so far saved Dali from over-development. Before 1949, the Old Town was the region's political, economic, and cultural center. Afterwards, the People's Government opted to develop the town of

Xiaguan as the new administrative and economic center given its more convenient location and ample space at the juncture between the transport routes to Kunming and Baoshan. Xiaguan has since experienced most of the modern development, even in the contemporary period, so much so that it now is almost indistinguishable from other modern Chinese cities, albeit with the lake on one side and mountains on the other.

Lijiang, the historic town further up the road, has not been so lucky. The new town of Lijiang has grown up directly beside the Old Town adding a sense of congestion and overdevelopment. Lijiang has also been designated as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site, contributing to its fame and appeal. It is thus unsurprising that the tourists to Lijiang greatly outnumber those to Dali. Lijiang, by many accounts, has become extremely commercialized, commodified, and expensive. Dali, by contrast, has little chance of World Heritage listing, and with a buffer zone between the old and new towns has had enough space to develop various niches catering to different markets. The overall vibe in Dali is quite distinct - more laidback and accessible - than the highly commercialized, noisy, and expensive spaces of Lijiang.

Early in the twenty-first century, Dali had a well-established foreign tourism market still high on the backpacker circuit itinerary, a strong and dominant domestic mass tourism market that had radically reshaped local representations of Dali and Bai culture, and a burgeoning domestic Chinese backpacker and independent traveler market. These forms of tourism mobilities combined to transform Dali into a modern cosmopolitan tourism mecca. It is on the basis of these conditions plus the relatively clean environment, good weather, and natural beauty, the pull factors that began attracting Dali's next wave of visitors, the "mountain changers."

Scholars such as Appadurai (1996) and Benson (2011) argue that imagination serves as a "wellspring" for migration, inspiring movement and being carried along by people to their destinations. From the above, it is clear that Dali, and those in Dali responsible for constructing "place branding" and "location image," have rich and colorful resources to draw upon. Benson (2011:225) further stresses that while "research on migration often focuses on the act of physical

movement, there is another aspect of mobility that needs to be taken into account: imaginative travel." Indeed, Salazar argues that this is a central feature of migration:

Migration is as much about these imaginaries as it is about the actual physical movement from one locality to another and back. Migration always presupposes some knowledge of or, at least, rumors of 'the other side' (2010:56).

Let us now travel to "the other side" and see how "imagination and migration" are playing out in the theory and practice of China's "mountain changers."

SECTION TWO: INTRODUCING THE MOUNTAIN CHANGERS¹⁸

It is difficult to calculate the number of lifestyle migrants in Dali, as a prefectural whole, and the Old Town and immediate environs. All non-local Chinese and foreigners must officially register short and long-term residence (residing for more than one year) through the local Public Security Bureau. In 2011, the total number of long-term foreign residents in Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture was reported as 1,100 (Zhongguo Xinwenwang 2011). This surely includes a large proportion of foreign students - mainly from India and Nepal - who are studying medicine at the medical college in Xiaguan. More recent statistics are not available but the official figures have surely

¹⁸ The mountain changers have attracted both Chinese and foreign media interest. Unfortunately, the focus of those reports tends to be on the lifestyle migrant, a trap this essay could easily fall into. We should, therefore, note that there are other kinds of migrants to Dali whose numbers could easily outnumber the mountain changers. These include labor migrants from within rural Dali, that is, other Bai and ethnic minorities leaving the smaller towns and villages to work as laborers and service personnel in the old and new towns of Dali.

increased. Hence the actual number of long-term residents in and around the Old Town of Dali is quite modest.¹⁹

The larger number of Chinese and foreigners who are not officially registered as long term residents should also be added to this figure. Certain Chinese prefer not to be officially registered. Quite often one partner will be registered and the other remains *incognito*. It is unlikely that foreign residents are unregistered as the visa and accommodation registration system is rigorously enforced. However, the issue here is that many will not be on long term residence visas, which are notoriously difficult to obtain in China. Instead, they are on tourist or student visas. This "short term visa" approach to "long term residence" is a major headache for foreigners, of which more will be discussed below. I conservatively estimate that the long term foreign resident figure has increased to 1,600 with 350 of those as "mountain changers" and that the unregistered cohort is 150. I further assume that the Chinese resident figure is much higher than the foreign resident figure. A figure of 5,000 Chinese long term residents is reasonable and errs on the conservative. Not all of these will be long term residents residing continuously in Dali. There is quite a mixture of long term and seasonal residency. The population of the Old Town is approximately 40,000. Hence, 5,500 is nearly fourteen percent. The large daily influx of domestic and foreign tourists, which at the peak season is easily several thousand, could also be added. Even the approximate nature of these figures begins to reveal the diverse and cosmopolitan makeup of contemporary Dali.

Table 1. Dali Lifestyle Migrant Composition

Place of Origin	China (other than Yunnan and Taiwan, Hong	Other Parts of Yunnan	Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau	Foreign Country		

¹⁹ Many thanks to Gerry Groot and an anonymous reviewer of these figures for their assistance. The final estimates are made by the author who takes responsibility for any inaccuracies.

	Kong and Macau)					
Number	32	12	5	15		
Type of Migrant	Seasonal Business Migrant	Seasonal Retiree	Long Term Migrant	Cultural Worker	Business Proprietor (e.g. hostel owner)	Streetside Vendor or Busker
Number	6	4	26	16	8	14

I have interviewed over sixty Chinese and foreign mountain changers over the course (2012-2015) of this research (see Table 1 for a composition breakdown). The author is not a migrant to Dali, but has visited the town at least once per year over the last decade. The interviewees came from a variety of sources, but mostly through introductions of locals or other migrants. A good proportion was also simply approached by the author during his many visits to Dali. Mountain changers, like mountains, come in all shapes and sizes. Here I provide a short list of some of the more indicative types of people that reveals the broad socioeconomic range engaging in seasonal or more permanent lifestyle migration to Dali. Firstly, the varieties of Chinese lifestyle migrant:

- The seasonal business visitor. These affluent entrepreneurs retreat to Dali at certain times of the year. Both winter and summer are pleasant in Dali so these visitors can choose to seek respite from bitterly cold northern winters or humid and hot summers. Some may have business interests in Dali and the surrounding region, but most do not. These days the ease of communication and travel make it possible to be more mobile and still diligently pursue business affairs. Many such migrants purchase residences in Dali that are not usually in the Old Town

where accommodation for purchase is rather limited and not as modern as many would prefer. Instead, they purchase property in the immediate surroundings, including the picturesque villages that dot the fertile Erhai Basin.

- The seasonal well-to-do retiree. This category includes those who have retired from full employment, usually government cadres of relatively high standing who have generous pensions and other incomes sources, such as multiple investment properties. These migrants may purchase residences or alternatively rent lodgings in one of the many hostels and boutique hotels. They spend their time in typical Chinese fashion exercising, eating, drinking tea, and engaging in more traditional leisure pursuits such as card games and mahjong.
- The full-time affluent mountain changer. This category includes persons and families who are relatively well off and have, for the already well cited reasons of escaping the pollution, congestion, and pressures of typical Chinese urban life, decided to move to Dali on a more permanent basis. Typically they will have purchased a residence, which in many cases actually means taking out a long term lease for up to twenty years. It is not unusual for these persons to have young children.
- The full-time small business entrepreneur. Many mountain changers move to Dali on a more permanent basis who cannot afford the luxury of being idle. Typically these migrants engage in local business. The most common form of business is running a hostel or small hotel (often a converted farmhouse). Those without the capital to do this may instead open a small shop, café, or restaurant.
- Streetside vendors and buskers. For those moving to Dali without the capital to rent property for conducting business, it is possible to engage in merchant activity or roadside performance (busking) along People's Road. This large category includes more permanent and seasonal mountain changers and transient backpackers/ travelers. Many engage in the self-manufacture of arts and crafts that are then sold on

a streetside stall that is often as simple as laying out a mat or small table. Those without arts and crafts skills might end up selling their labor in the service and tourist industry. Many hostels provide free accommodation to backpackers willing to work for several months as staff members. Some of the more talented musicians may also gain regular work in the many live music venues along Dali's bar streets. Mountain changers at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder tend to be younger people without children.

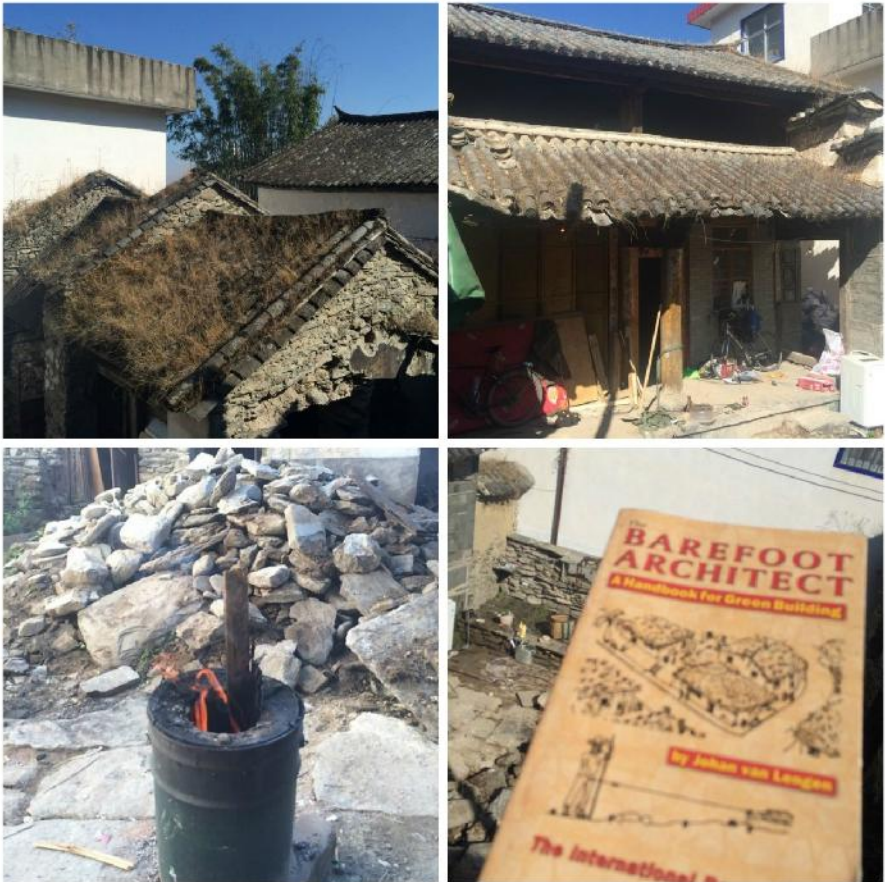
- The Chinese cultural worker. By "cultural worker" I refer to those people who are already well established in one of the cultural arts, such as music, painting, and writing. A number of well respected musicians base themselves in Dali and travel to other locations for lucrative work. Established painters who already have had some success also have the luxury of being based in Dali while actively pursuing their careers. There are also quite a few well known writers in Dali.

In terms of the foreign mountain changers I have identified the following categories:

- Relatively affluent full time mountain changers who move to Dali to establish businesses, typically hotels, hostels, or cafes and/ or restaurants. These are usually middle aged or semi-retired professionals. Some have children. It is also common for such persons to have a Chinese spouse, in which case the visa issue is more readily resolved.
- Seasonal migrants. In this category are foreigners who have a particular skill, such as in performance or arts and crafts. They spend the busy summer season in Dali plying their trades and move to another location, usually outside of China, to catch another busy season in the second locale (for instance, several Australian leather workers oscillate between Dali and Byron Bay). Those who lack such skills may spend six months in their home country or Chinese eastern seaboard working fulltime and returning to Dali for the rest of the year to live off those earnings.

- Full time mountain changers without much economic capital who make a living in Dali as musicians, teachers, and/ or working odd jobs to get by.

Image 12. While many lifestyle migrants choose to live within the Old Town itself, an even larger number live scattered throughout the many villages in the surrounding area, either on the edge of Erhai Lake or close to the feet of the Cangshan Mountains. Some also undertake their own renovations, a daunting task especially for foreigners in an unfamiliar social environment. Where once there were "barefoot doctors" there are now "barefoot architects."



I have placed the foreign mountain changers in a separate category, given the quite distinct cultural and official obstacles they

face in making the transition to life in Dali. The greatest obstacle is the aforementioned acquisition of a Chinese visa. Long term residence and working visas are notoriously difficult to acquire and only a handful of foreigners consulted in this study had obtained one. Many foreign residents first make do with short term tourist visas. The longest visa in this category is ninety days. This then means the inconvenience and expense of leaving China to, most often Hong Kong or Southeast Asia, and applying for another tourist visa and returning to Dali. A common strategy is to enroll at one of the many Chinese language schools in Dali, either privately run or part of official education institutions. On payment of a fee the school will assist with the application of a student visa that will cover the "student" for six to twelve months. Many foreign mountain changers attend Chinese language classes, believing it will help with daily life. Conversely, quite a few attend few classes, an arrangement some have accepted. During periodic visa crackdowns, the Public Security Bureau visits to check attendance.

Comparing Lifestyle Migration in Dali to Experience Elsewhere

Lifestyle migration is a relatively new field of migration research. It fits broadly within the emerging body of literature on globalization and mobility, and the changing parameters and varied experiences of relationships with space, place, and identity. While referring to slight distinctions in form "lifestyle migration" is also known as "seasonal lifestyle migration," "retirement migration," "tourism-informed migration," "counterurbanisation," [sic] and "second home tourism." Benson and O'Reilly (2009) provide an overview of contemporary scholarship. Noting that there is some degree of diversity in lifestyle migrants' backgrounds, much of the research assumes that, as noted by Benson and O'Reilly (2009:2), "lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life."

The literature has primarily focused on the experiences of more affluent migrants in developed Western countries, with very

little on the situation in other social contexts, and as far as I have ascertained, virtually nothing on the China situation. In the Chinese case there has been a great deal of work on rural to urban migration and the floating population (Solinger 1999, Pun 2005). However, as Notar (2006) notes:

Relatively neglected ... has been the increasingly significant reverse movement of urbanites to rural areas as part of China's emerging leisure culture and the transformation of place that this has wrought (2-3).

Much of this is in the form of tourism but as noted, those engaging in short and long term residency in more desirable locales is a growing trend. One of the few papers on this subject is Su Xiaobo's (2013) preliminary study of business migration to Lijiang which seeks to understand:

attempts to withstand restlessness and placelessness in the course of China's rapid development ... [and] what makes possible the discursive and practical articulation of "home" in contemporary China (149).

Su (2013:136) also writes that:

A growing number of people ... move to peripheral China—a symbol of tradition and comfort—for both economic opportunities and more livable lifestyles. For some of them, this move becomes a means of withstanding the atomized segregation that prevails in coastal cities, and allows individuals to build a new idea of "home" and to pursue a sense of inner freedom, albeit always in the light of mounting pressure from political control and social tension.

Salazar and Zhang's (2013) study of "seasonal lifestyle tourism" can also be added. As with most of the non-Chinese focused lifestyle migration work, both Su (2013) and Salazar and Zhang (2013) focus on relatively affluent elites. Dali, however, incorporates a much

broader socioeconomic spectrum and challenges the Eurocentrism and socioeconomic narrowness of previous work in this field.

Image 12. Dali's picturesque natural surroundings are often cited as a major attraction for lifestyle migrants. Spectacular sunrises and sunsets are shared with friends and family through social networking platforms such as WeChat, reminding us that part of the contemporary form of mobility and migration incorporates significant social others in daily life vicariously through the sharing of images.



While there are parallels in China with what is happening in Europe, North America, and Australia, there are also crucial differences. I will now briefly outline the major similarities and differences.

Firstly, on the similar and more positive side of the ledger, the vast majority of lifestyle migration experiences involve aspirational projections on a space/ place that contains the character/values migrants are seeking. These typically include living at a slower pace, developing and maintaining meaningful social relationships, and exerting control over time and activity allocation. This contrasts with the pressures, alienation, and speed of urban living and workplaces. This also involves quite an emotional attachment to place, especially in the early stages. As one informant told me:

Living in the old town has been a long cherished dream. A town nestled between mountains and water [a long standing Chinese aesthetic in cultural practice] where we rise and rest at will. The

air is clean and the sunlight is bright. It helps maintain a clear and bright mind and attitude towards life.

Secondly, lifestyle migrants tend to move from urban areas with high living costs to rural areas or semirural areas with lower costs of living. This is important for retirees and persons/ families giving up lucrative jobs, or for young people with limited savings.

Thirdly, lifestyle migrants seek a better work/ life balance. Many try self-employment. Indeed, there is often little choice if finances are tight. This shift to "being your own boss" gives a strong sense of control over personal time and activity allocation. As another informant operating a small business in Dali stated:

At first being my own boss was rather daunting. To tell you the truth, I was scared. But I stuck at it and managed to turn a profit. I found this sense of achievement exhilarating. I wasn't making anything near the about I was making in Beijing, but the sense of being free from a domineering boss was worth it.

Finally, lifestyle migrants, no matter where they are, attempt to distinguish themselves from tourists and develop an identity as "a local." This is probably one of the biggest challenges that, depending on location and background, involves linguistic and cultural obstacles. The transition from "tourist" to "local" is a standard rite of passage and invariably involves changes in attitudes towards place and people. Lifestyle migrants over time build up a more detailed local knowledge and gain insights into the ebb and flow of life that tourists cannot hope to capture.

In this connection, and turning our attention to the negative side of the ledger, many lifestyle migrants express frustration at the difficulty of developing friendships with locals. This experience is difficult to generalize as it depends on acquired linguistic and cultural knowledge. In the case of Dali one informant told me:

I have tried very hard to make friends with the locals in my village, but it is extremely difficult. There is just too much of a cultural and educational gap between someone from a big Chinese city

and a small rural village. Not to mention that I'm Han Chinese and they are Bai. Many of the older people don't even speak Mandarin, or if they do it is with such a thick accent that it makes it virtually impossible to have a meaningful conversation. The younger people are more approachable, but still they inhabit such a different world. The only Bai friends I have made are those who have been to college or university and work in the cultural field like myself.

The characteristics given above are common experiences for most lifestyle migrants regardless of location. In the case of China, however, there are a few important differences giving the experience of lifestyle migration certain "Chinese characteristics." I will discuss the notion of *jianghu* in more detail later.

Firstly, much of the focus thus far in the lifestyle migration literature examines British, European, Australian, and North American experiences of relatively affluent middle-classes relocating to rural areas and small towns. While this socioeconomic cohort certainly applies to China, there is a broader socio-economic cross-section in Dali than is typical in the Western experience. Dali, therefore, has certain conditions making it viable for different social classes to migrate and exist. Most notably the difference in living costs compared to the urban eastern seaboard and a place like Dali is quite large, although rents and other associated living costs have begun rising. Average wages in a place like Beijing are three or four times the amount in Dali. Moving from Beijing to Dali is a bit like moving from a "developed country" to a "less developed country." By contrast, migrants who move from the urban centers of the UK to rural France can expect a drop in the cost of living, but can still expect to be in the "first world."

Chinese mountain changers in Dali at the lower socioeconomic end of the spectrum refer to their lives as pursuing the Chinese dream of a "cheap and comfortable life." This is known as *xiaokang* and has deep roots in Chinese thought. In recent decades, the Chinese government has used the concept to promote its overall developmental goal, often translated as a "moderate level of development." As one young couple from Shanghai explained to me:

We don't have high expectations in terms of our lifestyle in Dali. We are just seeking to make ends meet. At the moment the cost of rent and food is quite low compared to Shanghai. We are content to join the locals at the market, cook our own food, and share a few cheap drinks with friends. We came for the clean air, sunshine, and relaxed way of life. We didn't come to Dali to live the high life.

Secondly, for foreign lifestyle migrants to Dali, the challenges in obtaining a long term visa are not difficulties migrants staying within the boundaries of the European Union generally experience. This gives the foreign mountain changer a greater sense of insecurity and exposes them to exploitation. For instance, I know a number of people who were significantly short-changed by a local English school. Because they were on student visas and officially prohibited from working, they could not complain to the authorities.

Thirdly, lifestyle migrants in Western countries complain about pollution and congestion, but I would suggest that at this stage in China's development the urban centers are far more polluted and congested than Western countries. This is a push factor with a great deal more force. As one informant from Beijing told me, "I said goodbye to Beijing and goodbye to PM2.5! I no longer have to wear a mask and at least breathe the air!" I also interviewed a number of couples who moved to Dali for the sake of their children's health.

Dali *Jianghu*: Towards an Understanding of Lifestyle Migration with Chinese Characteristics

Having outlined certain major similarities and differences between foreign and Chinese lifestyle migration I now focus in more detail on the "Chinese characteristics" of this phenomenon. In particular I would like to explore the Chinese notion of *jianghu* as a means of making sense of a certain kind of "mountain changer" and the spaces they seek to inhabit.

At the outset, I point out that Dali is home, permanently or seasonally, to many migrant scholars, artists, writers, musicians, and performers. In Chinese these can be broadly classified as *wenhua gongzuo zhe* 'cultural workers' and *wen hua jingying* 'cultural elites'.

These cultural elites draw on a longstanding Chinese cultural tradition of retreating to the mountains and lakes for aesthetic and poetic inspiration (see Salazar and Zhang 2013:83-85). This practice of social withdrawal - drawing upon Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist elements - of the *junzi* 'literati' was used by those wishing, for whatever reason, to physically distance themselves from the political center (Porter 2010). Beyond the desire to escape from the towns and cities, the mountains and water were also seen to intrinsically contain some element of beauty that could instill wisdom in those seeking knowledge. As Confucius is quoted as saying, "The wise find pleasure in water, the virtuous find pleasure in hills." As Salazar and Zhang (2013:85) note:

Spending time in the mountains or near watersides, elites could further refine their "gentlemen" persona, and purify their souls. These temporary stays were seen as a way of education that helps one to attain the ideal morality of both wisdom and virtuousness.

China's vast expanse of mountains, even in eastern China, provided the perfect environment for withdrawal. Of course in earlier days, Dali was generally not included on the list of such destinations²⁰ but now with the transport and mobility revolution, those seeking a place for a more contemplative and slower pace of life have many more options than the ancients.

²⁰ There are records of Indian and Japanese travelers (who were likely neither Buddhists nor very interested in Buddhism) visiting Dali during the time of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms. There was also a visit by the famous Chinese explorer and writer, Xu Xiake (1587-1641). The point I am making here that these regions were relatively "unknown" as favored destinations for hermitage from the point of view of those in eastern China remains valid.

Image 13. A typical example of Chinese "mountain and water" landscape painting.²¹



Mountains and water thus occupy a special place in Chinese cultural aesthetics. One of the classic types of Chinese landscape art is simply known as *shan shui hua* 'mountain and water painting'. In these paintings, humans or human habitation is generally very small, if depicted at all. This evokes a sense of harmony between nature and people. This style of painting is also extremely popular among the Bai who use it to adorn the walls of their courtyard houses, along with flowers, birds, butterflies, and bats (the latter being a symbol for luck).

Over time this practice of seclusion also intersected with the general development of travel for leisure. Chinese cultural elites were intimately familiar with a large corpus of landscape painting and travel writing, and actively sought out famous landscapes. In turn, many famous literati travelers were able to leave their own mark on cliff faces and rocks by inscribing calligraphic messages, adding to the overall cultural value (see Nyiri 2006). Hence, contemporary cultural workers cum mountain changers in this mold consciously draw upon well over a thousand years of writing and practice in this tradition. The Confucian tradition, however, contains a strong conservative element and an emphasis on the mainstream - respect and upholding patriarchy, authority, tradition, and so on. This is why Confucianism

²¹ Source: <http://tinyurl.com/nwzph5d>, accessed 29 November 2015.

can spawn an official revival in the present under the auspices of a once Marxist-inspired ruling Communist Party.

Image 14. An example of Bai style "mountain and water" landscape painting. The object in the foreground is a rubbish receptacle.



Yet, especially when combined with the philosophical attitudes of Daoism, this tradition has a more bohemian side. *Jianghu* captures this particular form of practice very well in that it continues the connection with water as it literally means "rivers and lakes." In terms

Image 15. Recreational drugs such as cannabis are now commonly taken all across China, although in August 2015, a severe crackdown on illicit drugs was being carried out. Cannabis grows wild in Dali, typically around the fields and between the villages, a remnant of a time when hemp was widely grown and harvested for its fiber and oil.²²



of physical geography, it refers to the marshlands and complex series of waterways found in many parts of eastern China. These spaces were seen as almost impenetrable and ungovernable (in the same way that James C Scott's notion of mountainous "Zomia" is "beyond the state"). Not surprisingly they were often the refuge for outlaws and bandits. Indeed, the famous fourteenth century novel set in the Song Dynasty of the twelfth century, *Outlaws of the Marsh* (also known as *The Water Margin* and *All Men Are Brothers* in English), recounts the story of thirty-six disaffected officials and soldiers. They are still loyal to an emperor whom they believe is being misguided by corrupt advisers, and take to the marshes to form a proto-guerrilla army. *Jianghu* also intersects with the popular literary tradition of knights-

²² Source: <http://tinyurl.com/ovnmmt>, accessed 29 November 2015.

errant, such as that depicted in the aforementioned *Heavenly Dragons*. By extension, this trope has come to refer to any person or persons who exist or operate in a liminal space between or beyond state and society. *Jianghu* is often used in colloquial speech to refer to someone who might be a bit shady or dubious, although the connotations are not exclusively pejorative.

As Zhang Jinghong (2014:25) notes in reference to her work on puer tea culture in Yunnan, with a large mobile population "jianghu" has come to represent 'a wandering space for ordinary people who leave their real native lands'. Many cultural worker mountain changers in Dali fit into this bohemian *jianghu* category. Firstly, they are seeking a place that provides aesthetic inspiration in the Chinese tradition of the recluse. The Cangshan Mountains and Erhai Lake provide the perfect backdrop. Secondly, they are also seeking a place far removed from the negativities of the metropolis: the pollution, the congestion, the daily stresses, and the overt political nature of life in contemporary China dominated by the CPC. Thirdly, they are seeking camaraderie with other fellow travelers who reject the mainstream and desire to live out their lives as freely as is possible in the PRC. One informant described Dali as a *shouliusuo* 'refuge', a place for wounded people who are rejected by, or who themselves reject, the mainstream. Dali is seen to have all these features and provide a space for "being in refuge" and "being healed." Many of the occupations the mountain changers pursue in Dali are beyond the traditional state confines of the *danwei* 'work unit'. In this regard their very forms of subsistence set themselves at a distance from Party-state.

A famous Chinese poet Zheng Shiping (b. 1962) with the *nom de plume*, Yefu, wrote a bestselling Kerouac-like book about life on the road. He moved to Dali in 2006. (The following is taken from Weikouwang 2014.) He is typical of the bohemian *jianghu* mountain changer that I describe here. Yefu was active in the demonstrations of 1989 and was arrested and jailed for a time. During the 1990s he lived in Beijing and built up a successful cultural business. In 2006 he sold the business, divorced his wife (giving her the lump sum of their property), packed his bags, and moved to Dali, saying he was weary of life in Beijing. Yefu came to Dali with virtually no money, and made a

living writing TV dramas while continuing his artistic writing. In addition to affordability, it was Dali's physical environment, the classic Chinese artistic attraction to "mountains and water" that appealed to him. Yefu also mentions that the culture of the local Bai people was also appealing.

Image 16. Now a global symbol for alternative culture, the cannabis leaf is seen across the Chinese urban landscape. It is often displayed by people who do not understand its original significance. In Dali the availability of cannabis originally attracted many recreational smokers, especially after it was widely reported in *High Times*, a major online cannabis forum and e-magazine. Cannabis smoking was done openly in public cafes and bar until a few years ago when the authorities initiated a major crackdown. Cannabis is still widely available but no longer as publicly visible as it once was. It has, nonetheless, become a major component of the alternative bohemian *jianghu* lifestyle.



Image 17. Dali is home to Chinese and foreigners of creative and artistic persuasions such as writers, painters, poets and, as pictured here, musicians.



The Bai are noted for fine artistic work in painting, sculpture, and music. When asked to explain in more detail, Yefu notes that all the great religions can be found in Dali:

Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Christianity (including Catholicism), plus the unique Bai belief system of *benzhujiao* 'nature worship'. This is a significant gesture in the direction of Dali's cosmopolitanism and relative openness to other cultures while at the same time retaining its own cultural meaning. At the time of the Tang and Song dynasties, Buddhism was the state religion in the Dali Kingdom. Later, other religions also arrived on the scene. This demonstrates the *baorong* 'openness' of this place and by extension this place's willingness to accept foreign cultures and foreigners such as myself. Dali is not *fengbi* 'closed' but instead is very international. People from various nations and all corners of China live here. The people I meet are interesting. I am friends with monks, Daoist priests, and many from the world of *jianghu*. In this small town I get to meet people of almost every hue from around the world. This is very important for a writer.

Image 18. Left: People's Road on a not so busy morning. Right: Two images of the kinds of streetside activity common on People's Road.



People's Road: A Unique *Jianghu* Space in China for the Acting Out of Cosmopolitanism and the Circulation of Global Signifiers

Yefu alludes to something crucial in the case of Dali as mountain changer destination, above and beyond its mountains and water. Here I refer to Dali's cosmopolitanism, its capacity to accept peoples of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds (see also Notar 2008). As noted in Section One, Dali has been an important trading center on a series of ancient trading routes for centuries. It is thus no surprise that the residents of Dali are willing to accommodate and

accept other cultures. In addition to all of the other favorable elements listed above, this is one of its great attractions for Chinese and foreign mountain changers.

Dali, like much of eastern China, is now well connected to global flows of people, ideas, and culture. Dali continues to absorb foreign cultures and styles. Today is an age of hyper modernity/ post-modernity/ liquid modernity providing increased ease and speed of physical mobility. Similarly, the circulation of images and symbols is now at a pace inconceivable a few decades ago.

In this final section of the paper I outline this contemporary sense of cosmopolitanism with special reference to a now iconic space for the gathering of people in quintessential Dali fashion. People's Road is aptly named as it has become the main focus for various individual and public performances. I use "performances" to mean the playing out of desires and identity rather the narrow sense of "a performance," although the latter is a common sight.²³

People's Road is approximately three kilometers long. Most of the road is closed to cars and other vehicles. It makes its way gradually downhill from the Cangshan Mountain side of the Old Town towards the Erhai Lake side. It is a mix of traditional and modern architecture that is now nearly completely occupied on either side of the road by shops, cafes, bars, and restaurants. The spaces in front of the buildings are occupied by buskers, people selling arts and crafts, and various snack foods. It is the place to gaze and be gazed upon, a unique space in all of China. In many Chinese cities the authorities do not permit people to set up streetside stalls. Doing so often results in a fine and confrontations with the *chengguan* 'city management' teams. Cognizant of the ambience the sellers provide for locals, tourists, and mountain changers, the Dali Old Town authorities have adopted a relaxed attitude. They only seem to get

²³ There is a conspicuous absence of local Bai performers and artisans along People's Road. While elements of Bai culture remain a strong theme in terms of architecture and other cultural objects (mostly packaged as tourist souvenirs and food), People's Road is ultimately a very cosmopolitan 'Chinese' space. The issue of how to best preserve and represent local Bai culture is addressed in another paper (Sigley forthcoming). I thank Brian Linden for his thoughts on this subject.

involved when disputes occur, or at certain festive times of the year when pedestrian numbers increase dramatically. This is crucial for lifestyle migrants at the lower end of the socioeconomic range as People's Road offers a space where they can engage in basic commerce and earn enough to live in Dali, whether temporary, seasonal, or more permanently.

People's Road is a cosmopolitan *jianghu* space where the clearest examples of Dali's contemporary production and intersection with global signifiers are evident. One of my favorite informants is Fangfang, an "old Dali hand" who has lived in the Old Town for ten years. He came in his teens and is now approaching thirty. He and his newly-wedded wife make a living selling bowls of tea on the side of the street. He also has an extensive collection of music CDs covering styles from the four corners of the globe. He used to find a place for himself along People's Road, but as he says, "That is getting too crowded now," and he has relocated to a more roomy and shady, but less busy position on an adjacent street. In between sips of tea and puffs on the ubiquitous cigarette he plays music through his small but powerful speakers. A steady flow of friends and local associates pass by. It is an excellent location to observe the local streetlife and meet various people calling Dali home.

Image 18. Hand drum shops have become numerous in the main tourist streets of Dali, including People's Road. Some of Yunnan's ethnic minorities have strong hand drum traditions, but this drum phenomenon is a pastiche of various forms exemplifying Dali's intersection with global images and signifiers. Many of the drums are decorated with what appear to be parodies of indigenous Australian dot painting. Three examples are pictured here. The bottom right image, depicting an elephant and use of colors associated with the local Yi people in neighboring Chuxiong Prefecture, is the exception.



Image 19. Christmas in its global and commodified secular form, has become a popular festival in China (Sigley 2007). It is particularly popular in Dali. The streets of the Old Town, especially around Foreigner Street and People's Road, are the site of heated snow spray bouts. Top Left: Young enthusiasts get into the spirit on Christmas Eve by spraying each other with fake snow. Top Right: Various Christmas paraphernalia for sale on the streets of Dali (but you are unlikely to see any specifically "Christian" images). Bottom: A special hybrid Chinese-Christmas chariot pulled by a reindeer provided for photo opportunities outside the main entrance to Dali Old Town.



Image 20. Braids and dreadlocks are popular in Dali with street side vendors offering braiding services. The braids in this instance are often inspired by traditional Tibetan forms and are sometimes combined with dreadlocks.



CONCLUSION: "EVEN DALI ISN'T LIKE DALI ANYMORE"

Dali is a unique location, a truly cosmopolitan context with lifestyle migrants from a broad spectrum of socioeconomic backgrounds. Dali is unusual compared to other lifestyle migration destinations. In many studies of lifestyle migrants in a Western context, the preferred destinations are overwhelmingly rural or semirural locations. While tourism may be an important element, they are also seen by migrants as relatively free of crass commercialism, which is something they are seeking to escape by the very act of migration. Conversely, Dali is a touristic site that at peak season is packed with tourists. Even the low season can be quite crowded.

To understand why Dali remains so popular, I reiterate the main points discussed above. Throughout China, a social space heavily dominated by the authority of the Communist Party, there is nowhere like Dali that exhibits the coming together of a number of characteristics that make it attractive to lifestyle migrants from different socioeconomic backgrounds. These characteristics include climate and natural beauty, relative affordability, a space like People's Road where a living can be eked out among kindred spirits, a critical mass of artistic persons and venues to sustain a creative lifestyle, and the accessibility/ mobility factor.

Dali possesses such qualities and news of its status as an attractive destination is now widely disseminated in the Chinese

media. It is thus unsurprising that the number of short and long-term migrants is increasing. As noted earlier, the increased ease of mobility has made this possible. Dali has throughout its long history been a destination intimately associated with migration. But in a society of over 1.3 billion people it only takes a small proportion of people seeking a better life to find a favored destination like Dali straining from an increasing population seeking a new home.

A favorite topic of conversation of locals and mountain changers is how much better things were "in the old days" five to ten years ago when Dali was "undiscovered" by the teeming masses. Many an informant lamented the rapid change Dali and its immediate environment were undergoing, fearing that in a few years' time its appeal will be overcome and Dali would just be another congested, polluted, and alienating Chinese city. Bob, an English seasonal migrant with a job in the eastern city of Guangzhou, has been coming to Dali for the last seven years and in this time has noticed significant development and change. He told me:

I originally came to Dali to get away from the crazy noise and pollution of a city like Guangzhou, but now I'm beginning to fear that some of that is following me to Dali. Still whilst there is good sunshine and relatively clean air I will keep coming back. I've also made some good friends here. For me, Guangzhou is just a place for working, my real home in China is Dali.

Some of the more well off migrants have already begun plans to leave Dali and China altogether to places such as Canada and Australia. For those without this option, there is little choice but to hold onto their dreams for as long as possible. As Fangfang replied when I asked him where he would go once Dali was "ruined":

I guess I would have to downsize to a smaller town or even village. Yunnan still has many places that could work, but of course nothing will ever be like Dali, but then again even Dali isn't like Dali anymore.

This strikes at the heart of the "Dali paradox." As one Australian resident put it:

There is a possibly ironic contradiction in the wish for stasis amidst a search for change. It's Dali's capacity to accept "change" that lies at the heart of its appeal, most obviously in its open culture of accepting people from elsewhere. Yet it's precisely this process of change that offends people, including me, whose ideal is defined in the present moment. Perhaps Dali is change; people, on the other hand, lack the same internal dynamism.

As Benson (2011) notes, migration should be understood as part of a greater project of self-realization, as migrants seek to better understand themselves, and variously articulate and perform their identity in different contexts. This is a complex process of formulating a new sense of belonging in places that are, at least in the beginning, relatively unfamiliar. In this contemporary moment of large scale movements of people for refuge, labor, education, travel, and lifestyle the challenge of keeping pace with changes in the migration destination turns out to be just as challenging as adjusting to change in the place of origin. Dali is no exception and in this regard the local culture provides impetus to accept and incorporate "the outside" so that the "foreign" becomes "local," much to the chagrin of the mountain changers who want places like Dali to "stay as they are."

Postscript: I am finishing this paper after a recent return visit to Dali (October 2015) where to my surprise, a McDonalds has now opened on the intersection of People's Road and Fuxing Lu.

Image 21. People's Road is now home to Dali Old Town's first McDonalds. The sterile but familiar space of the McDonalds fast food restaurant exemplifies the globalized world making its presence felt in the spatial confines of Dali. The Chinese patrons are a mix of tourists and locals (especially high school students), who appear comfortable in and familiar with this environment. In this instance this is just as much a manifestation of eastern China encroaching on People's Road as it is of so-called "Westernization."



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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Apeng 阿鹏

Bai 白族

baorong 包容

Baoshan 保山

Beijing 北京

benzhujiao 本主教

bingtuan 兵团

Cangshan 苍山

chai 拆

Chama gudao 茶马古道

chengguan 城管

Chuxiong 楚雄

Dai 傣

Dali 大理

Dali Kingdom Kingdom 大理国

Dali tianlong babu dianying cheng 大理天龙八部电影城

danwei 单位

Deqin 德钦

disuzhi 低素质

Erhai 洱海

Fangfang 方方

fengbi 封闭

Fuxing lu 复兴路

gaige kaifang 改革开放

ganjie 逛街

Gao Quan 高全

Guangzhou 广州

Han 汉

Honghe 红河

hongweibing 红卫兵

Huizu 回族

hukou 户口

Jianghu 江湖

jie 街
Jin Yong 金庸
Jinghong 景洪
jingqu 景区
Jinhua 金华
junzi 君子
Kunming 昆明
Lijiang 丽江
Lincang 临沧
luomahui 骡马会
Mao Zedong 毛泽东
Meilixueshan 美丽雪山
Ming 明
Nanfang sichou zhilu 南方丝绸之路
Nanzhao 南诏
Naxi 纳西族
puer 普洱
Qing 清
Renmin Lu 人民路
sanyuejie 三月街
shan shui hua 山水画
Shanghai 上海
Shengming Chanyuan 生命禅院
shouliusuo 收留所
Shuihuzhuan 水浒传
suzhi 素质
Tengchong 腾冲
Tianlong babu 天龙八部
Tubo 吐蕃
wenhua gongzuo zhe 文化工作者
wenhua jingying 文化精英
wenming 文明
Wu duo jin hua 五朵金花
Xi bu da kai fa 西部大开发
Xiaguan 下关

Xianggelila 香格里拉
xianjin shenghuo fangshi 先进生活方式
Xiaokang 小康
Xinhua nufang 心花怒放
Xinjiang 新疆
Xishuangbanna 西双版纳
Xizhou 喜洲
Xu Xiake 徐霞客
Yangren Jie 洋人街
Yefu 野夫
Yi 彝族
yishan tianhai 移山填海
Yuan 元
yugong yi shan 愚公移山
Yunnan 云南省
Zhaotong 昭通
Zheng Shiping 郑世平
Zhongdian 中甸
zhongyuan 中原
Zhongguo xinwen wang 中国新闻网

FOLKLORE

AN A MDO TIBETAN WEDDING SPEECH
FROM NE'U NA VILLAGE

TRANSLATED BY TIMOTHY THURSTON (The Smithsonian Institution)
and CAIXIANGDUOJIE (Qinghai Normal University)

ABSTRACT

This article introduces the background to a Tibetan wedding speech in A mdo, including its textual history, the village from which it was taken, and our practices and goals in translating the text. We then provide a translation, side-by-side with the Tibetan original, of a 547 line Tibetan Wedding speech from Ne'u na (Ch: Nina) Village, Khri ka (Ch: Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

KEYWORDS

A mdo, oratory, *ston bshad*, Tibetan wedding speeches, translation, verbal art

INTRODUCTION¹

A man stands slightly inebriated in front of a crowd. He begins to intone in a rapid cadence, raising his voice in volume and intensity as he races towards the climax of each line, and then dropping abruptly with the last two syllables. At the end of each section, the audience encourages him with a loud *ye!* In response to this encouragement, the orator spurs himself to ever-greater rhetorical heights. This is a wedding after all, and the wedding speech is important because it not only describes the auspicious conditions (and festive atmosphere) of the wedding, but helps to create them.²

The orator artfully links this wedding with a tradition of weddings dating back to the weddings of the great King Srong btsan sgam po (d. 649), and links the village itself to the most auspicious of places in the Tibetan cosmological world. In doing so, he uses the poetic and referential idiom of Tibetan folk traditions to their fullest effect, not only describing the auspicious circumstances of that day, but actually creating this auspiciousness.

Below we present a bilingual version of a Tibetan wedding speech from Ne'u na Village. This represents the culmination of an on-again off-again collaboration that has continued for about five years. It presents a form of Tibetan secular oratory that is no longer extensively practiced on the Tibetan Plateau, even in its original context: the wedding. A longer explication of this particular speech is forthcoming in a new volume on Tibetan Folk Literature (see Thurston 2015). With the permission of the editors of both volumes, we have overlapped much of the same information in the two publications.

¹ The authors thank Gerald Roche and CK Stuart for their tireless assistance in editing this paper and translation. Any errors are entirely our own.

² See Thurston (2012) and Thurston (forthcoming).

TEXTUAL HISTORY

Ne'u na Village³ is located along the Yellow River (T: Rma chu, Ch: Huanghe) in Khrika (Ch: Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, in western China's Qinghai (T: Mtsho sngon) Province. The town is located approximately 130 kilometers to the southwest of Qinghai's capital, Xining (T: Zi ling) City, and sits at the confluence of the Yellow River and a winding stream: the Mang ra. The name Ne'u na 'head of a small meadow' derives from the geographical feature related to the winding stream (Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. 2005:2 n3). Located along the river and at an elevation of approximately 2,200 meters above sea level, the majority of Ne'u na residents traditionally engaged in agricultural work, while many also raised some livestock.

Ne'u na villagers were historically mostly Tibetans. By 2004, however, large numbers of migrant Han had come to the area to work on the construction of Laxiwa (which went into operation in 2009) and Nina hydroelectric (built between 1996 and 2000) dams. The village is also home to a number of Chinese Muslims, all of whom belong to the Hui ethnic group. Religiously, the Tibetan and Han residents of Ne'u na are primarily Buddhist. The area's largest summer festival (T: *drug pa'i lha rtsed*) is held during the sixth month of the lunar calendar. It is a multi-ethnic affair with Tibetan, Han, and even Hui residents of Khrika and the surrounding area coming to offer money to two deities (Khri ka'i yul lha and Ri lang)⁴ in hopes of obtaining good fortune in the coming year.⁵ While Tibetans in Ne'u na Village self-identify as Buddhist the wedding speech translated below also expresses the pronounced influence of the animistic Bon religion. This might be related to the influence of

³ This sketch of Ne'u na Village provides only a brief introduction to its demographic, economic, and cultural situation. A more extensive ethnography of Ne'u na may be found in Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2005).

⁴ From the Chinese *er lang*

⁵ For more on Khri ka'i yul lha, see Buffetrille (2002).

Bon in this area, as evidenced by the presence of a nearby village that is primarily Bon po.⁶

Culturally, the Tibetans in this area are from the ethnolinguistic Tibetan region called A mdo. They speak the A mdo dialect, and several Hui residents have historically been able to communicate in both Tibetan and Chinese. Now, however, an increasing number of children, regardless of ethnic group, are growing up without speaking Tibetan, and many traditions are vanishing rapidly. The wedding speech is just one such tradition.

It is useful to think of this speech's life in terms of the entextualization process outlined in the introduction to Lauri Honko's (2000) *Textualization of Oral Epics*, wherein a work of verbal art moves from a "pool of tradition" that includes knowledge of register, appropriate multiforms, and meter.

The pool holds a multiplicity of traditions, a coexistence of expressive forms and genres, mostly in a latent state, only parts of it becoming activated by the individual user (Honko 2000:18-19).

It is a dynamic space that only reaches textual finalization (Bakhtin 1986:76) in performances during which the speaker's knowledge, history of performances, and the audience's knowledge, interact to create a single text out of the amorphous pool. In some cases, the speech's textual life may continue, for example, if a performer writes some form of *aide de memoire*; or a scholar may record the performance and later publish it.

Before this particular speech was codified in text, it was first very much a part of the pool of Tibetan oral traditions. It relied on the speaker's knowledge of the meter, multiforms, metaphors, and register appropriate to the formal oratory that once occurred on

⁶The Bon religion is "the indigenous religion of Tibet" (Tucci 1980:213). The nearby Bon village, known as Mdzo sna, was originally located near Ne'u na Village. Their relative locations have changed due to recent relocations associated with the construction of hydroelectric power stations. Bon is also associated with nearby pastoralist areas within the county, e.g., Stong che and Ser gya (Tsering Thar 2008:533).

many occasions throughout A mdo. It was part of a subgenre that occurs specifically at festival occasions such as hair changing rituals⁷ and weddings. In describing this form of secular but formal speechmaking, Ekvall notes that it:

is extremely stylized, has a prestige rating high above the less artificial form of speech-making, and is very frequently used by acknowledged orators—whether ecclesiastics, chiefs, or men of recognized eloquence. It is quite difficult to acquire and practice, and, on first hearing, is hard to understand...[it is] characterized by a steady, uninterrupted flow of words uttered at a uniform rate, with no pauses to function as nature punctuation (1964:143).

This characterization applies to the wedding speech at the center of this paper. However, its journey from pool of tradition, to hand-written libretto, to printed text, to English translation deserves a brief exposition.

This wedding speech was originally published by Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. in 2005 as part of a book describing weddings in Tshe dbang rdo rje's home village. This work provides three versions of the speech itself: "Oral A mdo Tibetan," IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), and Modern Literary Tibetan transcriptions. The oral version presents the text as it was written in the performer's own speech book while the Modern Literary Tibetan version presents the Oral A mdo version in a form conforming with more traditional Tibetan spelling practices.

Prior to 2003, this wedding speech was often given at weddings. It is attributed to Bstan 'dzin (b. 1963), from Rdzong 'go Village.⁸ When Tshe dbang rdo rje first recorded it, the speaker was inebriated and his speech was unclear. However, later he provided Tshe dbang rdo rje with the notebook on which his performances

⁷ For more on hair changing in A mdo, see Tshe dpal rdo rje et al; (2009), 'Brug mo skyid et al. (2010), and Blo bzang tshe ring et al. (2012).

⁸ This village is very close to Ne'u na. Ne'u na and Rdzong 'go may once have been a single village (Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. 2005:20 n57).

were based. The speech translated here was copied directly from Bstan 'dzin's notebook on 27 February 2003 and published in Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2005:110-179).⁹

Lacking an orator, this written libretto is now silent. Although we can recreate some of the paralinguistic features associated with the genre, this speech will likely never be performed again - one of a growing number of silenced traditional voices. Nonetheless, we can learn much about the nature of the poetic rules of Tibetan secular oratory from this text, as well as some of the larger cultural expectations that frequently accompany such a project.

ABOUT THE TRANSLATION

The unique history of the speech itself and the status of this particular text as an ideal text rather than as a record of performance, complicates both the translation process and the considerations that go into its presentation. The speech itself is meant to be orally performed, and bears several important keys of the Tibetan performance tradition. These include the extensive use of figurative language, special formulae, appeals to tradition, parallelism, and disclaimers of performance (see Bauman 1977). These keys notify the culturally informed audience that a performance is occurring and so things should not necessarily be taken literally. They also clue the audience into specific meanings that may accompany the performance. Here, the translators attempt to preserve these types of meaning while taking the text itself yet another step away from its original performance context.

There is no choice when dealing with a metonymically referential text other than to move the reader towards the writer (or in this case, the performer and the performance tradition), for

[o]nly when the text has been made to yield the kind of augmented discourse that mirrors a traditional oral performance in the highly focused mode of signification... identified as

⁹ For a more complete description of how Tshe dbang rdo rje obtained this wedding speech, see Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2005:109-110).

communicative economy can the message be faithfully received (Foley 1995:81).

The problem is, however, that such a translation requires a reader or an audience that understands the heavily referential nature of the traditional speech register.

The translators face a number of conundrums in making the text both readable and understandable to an audience that is unfamiliar with this tradition. How might the translators move readers toward the performer and the performance tradition while preserving the traditional and highly referential register? One solution is to include extensive contextualizing remarks to help the foreign reader enter into what Foley (1995) calls the performance arena and approach the text on its own uniquely cultural terms. Another solution is to become more transparent about the translation process.

This introduction seeks to provide the audience with the cultural knowledge necessary to facilitate reception of the wedding speech. In addition to the placing the Tibetan text side-by-side with the English translation, we also include a glossary that gives descriptions of all terms and names that have been Romanized, but otherwise untranslated. This requires the reader to move towards the original culture. Such a presentation finds precedent in the work of Honko (1932-2002), who used a similar method in his translation of the Siri epic of India (Honko 1998). We deem it best to proceed along such lines here.

With these goals in mind, we have chosen to provide a translation that approximates the original Tibetan as much as possible, which requires the reader to engage the culture on its own terms. We have also attempted to keep the words as close to their actual meanings as possible, and have sought to change the Tibetan line order only when necessary. This has included resisting the urge to make the text conform to prose conventions, and maintaining as many of the keys of performance as possible. For the names of deities, we have chosen to use the Extended Wylie transcription method (Anton-Luca 2006), unless the deity is well known by another name. For example, the Tibetan may read Thugs rje chen po,

but we provide Avalokitesvara because the Sanskrit has far more currency in English.

In addition to issues in the translation of Tibetan religious terms as mentioned above, this wedding speech brims with imagery and metaphor indicating the nature of the event. The extensive use of animals such as dragons, vultures, cuckoos, hawks, and tigers, in addition to the sun, the sky, the moon, and other inanimate objects is indicative of a rich cultural heritage and a somewhat rigid set of icons. We have chosen not to change these.

Throughout the speech, certain terminology and certain metaphors make frequent appearances. Many of these are culturally bound to the idea of marriage and, indeed, to the performance event itself. These cultural metaphors recall Foley's ideas of traditional referentiality and communicative economy, e.g.:

An oral traditional register is marked in some tradition- and genre-dependent way as an idiom dedicated to the special purpose of communicating through a particular channel. The narrow focus—or dense encoding—of this idiom permits a correspondingly economical conveyance of meaning, as the performer and audience employ a highly resonant species of linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonlinguistic cues to co-create a rich and complex work with relatively few expressive integers (Foley 1995:93).

The wedding speech text translated here as a static document retains few of Foley's paralinguistic and nonlinguistic cues. This in tandem with the extensive use of religious examples (discussed below) and cultural idioms creates a communicative economy even within the text. Through comparing a person to a vulture, a hawk, or other bird of prey, or through mentioning the snow lion, the performer references a wide range of attributes associated with those particular creatures. This is not limited to animal references. Famous locations such as Mt. Tise/ Kailash can be used to indicate the holiness and auspiciousness of the wedding occasion.

For the moment, the key question regarding these culturally bound idioms is how, for example, one can adequately convey the

notion that a venue of vultures indicates the guests at the wedding party. These metaphors are highly referential and often require extensive contextualization and background for the reader to fully understand them. There are at least two ways to approach this issue. One can provide footnotes - an unwieldy option that can make the text difficult to read - or make the work more transparent, by replacing dense metaphors with an appropriate metaphor in English. Both methods are flawed. The authors have attempted to avoid both by placing historical and religious references in a glossary rather than in footnote format, and by providing this introduction to the text. Combining the two will hopefully providing relative newcomers to Tibetan culture entre to the many-layers of meaning in this speech.

CONCLUSION

As noted in the corresponding publication for this translation (Thurston forthcoming), weddings are an important context for verbal artistic performance, with the wedding speech being only one of several genres of verbal art prevalent in the wedding. Moreover, that article suggested that wedding speeches are integral to the creation of auspiciousness on the festive occasion of the wedding and introduced certain performance "keys" preserved in the entextualized wedding speech. This introduction, however, is limited more to the context of this particular wedding speech, and the speech itself.

THE NE'U NA WEDDING SPEECH

¹ཡེ།མཚན་ཨོ་ལུང་དྲི།མཚན་ཨོ་ལུང་དྲི།མཚན་ཨོ་ལུང་དྲི།

¹Ya! Praise *Om a hum*, praise *Om a hum*, praise *Om a hum*!

²གནས་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་དག་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནས།

²From the pureland Dharmadatu,

³ཡབ་ཆོས་སྐུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་བོ་མཚན།

³Worship the father Dharmakaya Samantabhadra.

⁴རྒྱ་དཔལ་དང་ཐུན་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནས།

⁴From the glorious pureland in the south,

⁵རྩ་ལངས་སྐུ་བྱུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་མཚན།

⁵Worship Sambhogakaya, the Great Compassionate One.

⁶གནས་བྱ་གོང་ཕུང་བའི་རི་བོ་ནས།

⁶From Vulture Peak Mountain,

⁷རྩ་བཙུག་ཐུན་རྒྱལ་བ་ཤུག་བྱུང་མཚན།

⁷Worship the victorious Bhagavan Sakyamuni.

⁸གནས་ཟངས་མདོག་དཔལ་རིའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནས།

⁸From mountain palace of the golden land of Guru Rinpoche,

⁹མགོན་ཨོ་ཆུན་བསྐྱེད་འབྱུང་གནས་མཚན།

⁹Worship the Lord *O rgyan* Padmasambhava.

¹⁰གནས་བྱེ་གཞུག་པད་ཟའི་གདན་ལྗེ་ནས།

¹⁰From atop the lotus and moon seat,

¹¹རྩ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཆེན་ཅུ་བའི་ལྷ་མ་མཚན།

¹¹Worship the compassionate root *bla ma*.

¹²གནས་མ་རི་འབར་བའི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ནས།

¹²From the burial ground of Blazing Mountain,

¹³རྩ་ཡི་དམ་ཞི་ཁྲོ་རབ་འབྱུངས་མཚན།

¹³Worship the *yi dam* and the array of peaceful and wrathful deities.

¹⁴གནས་གཡུ་ལོ་བཞོད་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནས།

¹⁴From the Paradise arrayed in Turquoise Petals,

¹⁵མ་རྗེ་བཙུན་འཕགས་མ་སྐྱོལ་མ་མཚན།

¹⁵Worship the Arya Tara.

¹⁶མཁར་ལང་འབྲུག་སྐྱག་རྩེ་ཕོ་བྲང་ནས།

¹⁶From the lion, dragon, and tiger fortress,

¹⁷སྐུ་ལང་ཆེན་ནོར་བུ་དབྱེ་འདུལ་མཚན།

¹⁷Worship Seng chen nor bu dgra 'dul.

¹⁸རི་མ་ལ་ཡི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ནས།

¹⁸From the charnel ground of the. Malaya Mountains,

¹⁹དཔལ་མ་དྲུག་ལ་ལྷ་མ་དཔལ་མཚན།

¹⁹Worship the glorious deity Ma ha ka la and his brothers and sisters.

20 ཐྱེན་དཀར་གྱི་མེད་གེ་འབྱེངས་ལྟེང་ནས།

20 From atop clouds like a crouching white snow lion,

21 མ་ཨ་ནེ་གོང་མུན་ཀླུ་མ་མཚོད།

21 Worship the Queen Goddess Aunt Gong sman.

22 རྟེན་ལུ་མ་ཐུ་ཙུ་གཞུ་མ་ལྷ་ཡལ་ནས།

22 From the Thirty-Three heaven realms above,

23 རྟེན་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཚངས་པ་དཀར་པོ་མཚོད།

23 Worship the great deity Tshangs pa.

24 འག་ལྷ་ཡལ་དུང་གི་མཁར་ནང་ནས།

24 From within the naga region's conch fortress below,

25 འག་ལྷ་ཀླུ་ཀུན་གཞུག་ན་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོད།

25 Worship the naga king, Gtsug na rin chen.

26 བར་རྩ་ཐུན་འགྲེགས་པའི་དབྱིངས་རིམ་ནས།

26 From the expanse of thickening clouds in the middle,

27 ཡབ་པོ་ལྷ་གཏོར་བདག་གཉེན་པོ་མཚོད།

27 Worship the father deity, Gter bdag gnyen po.

28 གནས་རི་དགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གོང་ཕུག་ནས།

28 From the upper caves of both the holy mountain and the monastery,

29 འདི་པ་མེས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་སྤང་མ་མཚོད།

29 Worship the protector of the lineage.

30 བདག་གཞི་མགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚྭས་ས་ནས།

30 From the meeting place of the host and guests,

31 ལྷ་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་ཆེད་ལྷ་གྲོགས་ལྷ་མཚོད།

31 Worship the deities of happiness.

32 བྱིས་ཕུག་དང་ལྷས་ར་བྱི་ནང་ནས།

32 From inside the house and outside in the yard,

33 ཀལ་དང་ལྷ་དང་ཟས་ལྷ་གྲོགས་ལྷ་མཚོད།

33 Worship the deities of fortune and food.

34 མི་སྐར་ཚྭས་འཇའ་ཆོན་བསྐྱེགས་འདྲ་ནས།

34 From among the people gathered like stars, and arrayed like colors of the rainbow,

35 མི་རང་གི་པོ་ལྷ་དག་ལྷ་མཚོད།

35 Worship one's own tutelary and warrior deities.

36 མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུམ་ལྷོ།

36 Praise *Om a hum!*

37 ཡེ།མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུམ་ལྷོ།

37 *Ya! worship Om a hum,*

38 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱིན་མཚོད།

38 Worship! Worship! Worship! Worship the blue sky again and

39 དགྲུང་ཨ་ཕྱིན་འདི་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྱར་ན།།

again.

39 Should we not worship and venerate this blue sky?

40 མགོ་ལྷ་རིའི་སྟོད་ས་དགྲུང་སྟོན་གནམ་རེད།།

40 The blue sky is the place where the high holy mountain is worshipped.

41 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་བར་སྒྲུང་ཡངས་པ་
མཚོད།།

41 Worship! Worship! Worship!
Worship the vast heavens again and again.

42 བར་སྒྲུང་ཡངས་པ་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྱར་ན།།

42 Should we not worship and venerate the heavens?

43 བོ་ས་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟོད་ས་བར་སྒྲུང་ཁམས་
རེད།།

43 The abode of the heavens is the place where three-wheeled silk clothing is worshipped.

44 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་ས་དྲག་མོ་མཚོད།།

44 Worship! Worship! Worship!
Worship the solid earth again and again.

45 ས་དྲག་མོ་འདི་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྱར་ན།།

45 Should we not worship and venerate the solid earth?

46 ཀར་སག་ལྷ་མ་གྱི་སྟོད་ས་དྲག་མོ་ས་རེད།།

46 The abode of the earth is the place where the green leather boot is worshipped.

47 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་ཕུག་ལྷ་ཀུའུ་བྱང་མཚོད།།

47 Worship! Worship! Worship!
Worship the house deity, Ke'u thung,
again and again.

48 ཕུག་ལྷ་ཀུའུ་བྱང་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྱར་ན།།

48 Should we not praise and venerate Ke'u thung?

49 བྱིམ་གང་གི་མི་སྲུང་ཡིན།།

49 He is the family protector.

50 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་ཐབ་ལྷ་ཡོར་མོ་མཚོད།།

50 Worship! Worship! Worship!
Worship the hearth deity, Yor mo,
again and again.

51 ཐབ་ལྷ་ཡོར་མོ་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྱར་ན།།

51 Should we not worship and venerate the hearth deity, Yor mo?

52 ཕུན་སུམ་ཚེགས་པའི་ཟས་སྲུང་ཡིན།།

52 He is the perfect food protector.

53 མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་སྒོ་ལྷ་སྟག་ཡག་མཚོད།།

53 Worship! Worship! Worship!
Worship the door deity, Stag yag,
again and again,

72ས་བསྐྱེད་འདབ་བརྒྱུད་བཅེས་ན་དེ་རིང་བཟང་གི།

dharma wheel, today is good.

72According to the eight-petal lotus, today is good.

73བར་དུས་ཚད་ཆེན་པོ་བཅེས་ན་དེ་རིང་བཟང་གི།

73According to the Tibetan calendar, then today is good.

74སྤྱི་བ་ལོ་སྟོན་བཅེས་ན་དེ་རིང་བཟང་གི།

74According to the nine astrological squares and the zodiac, today is good.

75འབྲུང་བ་ཐུར་ཁ་བཅེས་ན་དེ་རིང་བཟང་གི།

75According to the eight trigrams, then today is a good day.

76དེ་རིང་ནི་བྲག་ཤིས་པའི་ཉི་མ།

76As for today, it is an auspicious day.

77ཆ་རིང་བའི་སྐར་མ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚུགས་པའི་དུས་ཚད་བརྒྱ་ཅ་
བརྒྱད་འཛོམས་པ་དེ་རིང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།

77It should be said that today is the moment of long life, the perfect time that is the completion of the 108.

78ཡ། དེ་རིང་གི་ནམ་ལངས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ།

78Ya! [At] today's first rays of light,

79ཉི་ཤར་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ།

79[As] the sun begins to rise,

80དུས་ཚད་གྱི་མགོ་མ།

80[At] the beginning of the watch,

81བྱུང་པ་བཟང་གི་བྱ་མོ།

81You, daughter of good parentage,

82ཞང་བཟང་གི་ཚ་མོ་འདི་ལ་རི་མོ་ཅན་གྱི་གོས་བསྟོན་གི།

82And niece of good uncles, are dressed in festive clothing.

83གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་བྱ་ཆ་བཟང་མཁུ་གས་ན།

83When you put on gold and silver ornaments,

84མཁུ་གས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁ་འདྲེགས་གི།

84Wear glittering jewels.

85ཁོ་མ་ལག་ཅན་གྱི་ཉི་མོ་ན།

85Ride a horse with a smooth gait.

86དཀར་སྤྱིན་དཀར་བོས་གནས་དཀར་གི།

86The white clouds bleach the sky,

87གོས་སུམ་འདབ་མས་ས་བྱགས་གི།

87The hem of the sable clothing brushes the ground,

88ཁྲ་རིལ་ཐོན་པའི་ཁྲ་བྱུག་བྲགས་གི།

88And the gleaming blue cuckoos squawk.

89སྐྱ་གཡས་སྐྱ་མི་འཕར་གཞོན་པ་ལ།

89To the hair on the left, that is fixed in place,

90གཡུ་ཡི་སྐྱོལ་མ་ཐོན་མོ་འདྲེགས་གི།

90Attach a turquoise Blue Tara.

91སྐྱ་གཡོན་སྐྱ་མི་འཕར་གཞོན་པ་ལ།

91To the hair on the right, that is fixed in place,

92 ལྷ་ཕྱེ་བྱམས་པ་རང་ཕྱོན་འདྲེན་གྱི།

92 Attach a naturally smooth piece of coral.

93 སྐྱ་ཉྐྱ་སྐྱ་མི་འཕུར་གནོན་པ་ལ།

93 To the hair on the temples, that is fixed in place.

94 གསེར་གྱི་ཕ་མ་འཕུར་ཤེས་འདྲེན་གྱི།

94 Attach a golden hair-piece.

95 མགོ་མྱ་གཙུག་མི་འཕུར་གནོན་པ་ལ།

95 To the top of her head, that is fixed in place,

96 ངུང་གི་ཕྱ་གྱ་འབའ་ཤེས་འདྲེན་གྱི།

96 Attach a wool-white conch hair ornament,

97 གཡུ་ཕྱན་ཆེན་འབྲིངས་འདྲ་འདྲེན་གྱི།

97 Attach many stunning pieces of turquoise,

98 ལྷ་ཕྱེ་གྲ་བོའི་རྩ་ཙ་འདྲེན་གྱི།

98 Attach the coral-like antler of a deer,

99 སྐྱ་ཉྐྱ་ཤེས་གྱི་ཐེང་བ་འདྲེན་གྱི།

99 And attach pearl and crystal prayer beads.

100 མགོར་མུ་མོ་གྲལ་ཁ་དམར་ཡག་བསྐྱོན་གྱི།

100 Wear a red fox fur hat on [your] head,

101 ལྱས་ལ་གོས་ཆེན་འབྲུག་མ་ཚང་ཉལ་བསྐྱོན་གྱི།

101 Wear a brocade robe decorated with coiling dragons on [your] body,

102 རྒྱུད་པར་གོས་ལིང་དཀར་དམར་བཅེངས་གྱི།

102 Tie red and white sashes around [your] waist,

103 ཀང་སག་ལྷ་མ་མེ་རུ་བཞི་འབྲིལ་བསྐྱོན་གྱི།

103 And cover [your] feet with green leather boots decorated with four flaming mountains.

104 ལ་ཁྱ་རི་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་པོ་འདྲ་བས་བསྐྱལ་ནས་ཡོང་གི།

104 [Your] father and uncles, like Mt. Meru, escort you as you come.

105 མ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་མྱེན་ལྷག་མོ་འདྲ་བས་བསྐྱར་ནས་ཡོང་གི།

105 [Your] mother and aunts come, like the myriad southern clouds.

106 བྱ་ཚ་རྣམ་རིག་ཅན་ཆོས་བསྐྱལ་ནས་ཡོང་ན་ཡག་གི་ཟེར་རྒྱ་རེད།

106 And if clever boys and nephews come escorting you, say it is good!

107 ཡུ་དེ་རིང་འདིར་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཕྱི་མགོན་གྱི་ཆས་ཡག་གི།

107 Ya! Today the clothing of the guests of your father's side is good.

108 རྒྱ་ཕྱེ་གཉེན་གྱི་བསུ་ཡག་གི།

108 The groom's side's welcome is good.

109 རིག་མ་ཐག་ནས་བསུ་བ་བྱེད་གི།

109 Go to receive the guests as soon as you see them,

110 ལྷོ་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་ས་མེ་འབྱེད་གི།

111 རྩོན་མ་ཏྲ་ཁ་ཡོབ་ཆེན་བྱེད་གི།

112 གཞུག་མས་དཀར་དམར་གདན་ཆ་བཏིངས་གི།

113 ཟས་ལྔ་ཚླགས་ཀྱི་ཟེར་ཁ་བསྐྱགས་གི།

114 རྩ་གཡང་མར་གྱི་ལོ་མགོ་འབྲེན་གི།

115 ཆང་བདུད་ཆེའི་ཉིང་ཁ་འདྲན་གི།

116 ཤ་ཆང་དང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཁ་བརྩེ་རྩོད་དགོས་པ་འདི།

117 རྩ་ཆེའི་བོད་ལ་སྤེལ་དཔེ་དཔེ་ལྟོ་རྩུ་རེད།

118 ཡུ་ཤར་ཁྱི་གདུགས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་མ་ཤར་ན།

119 རྩ་བ་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་པ་མི་དངས་གི།

120 ལྷོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་གིས་ངར་སྐད་མ་སྒྲོག་ན།

121 དབྱར་དགུན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མི་འབྱེད་གི།

122 བྱ་ཁྱུག་གིས་གསུང་སྟན་མ་སྒྲོག་ན།

123 རྩ་ཆ་རྩ་བ་ལེའི་ཆེད་མི་ཟེན་གི།

124 གཏམ་གནས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྩུ་མཚན་མ་བཤད་ན།

125 བདག་གཞི་མགོན་གྱི་ལལ་ངོ་མི་ཟེན་གི།

126 ཡུལ་ཁྱིམ་འདིར་ཚླགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོམ་པ་ལལ་འཛིགས་ཆེ་གི།

127 རྩ་གཏམ་བཤད་པའི་བྱ་ཆ་ངོ་ལོད་རྩུང་གི།

128 ཆེག་ལ་ལྷེའི་བར་ནས་བོར་འགོ་གི།

110 Divide the white door curtain,

111 The first group of greeters takes the reins and stirrups.

112 The next group of greeters spreads the red and white cushions,

113 Arranges many plates of foods,

114 Serves auspicious boiled tea with butter,

115 And serves the finest barley liquor.

116 It should be said that this need to have conversations about history, meat, and liquor,

117 Is an archetypal Tibetan event.

118 Ya! If the eastern throne of the sun does not rise,

119 Then the darkness of western Bsam yas does not clear.

120 If the southern turquoise dragon does not roar,

121 Then summer and winter will not be differentiated.

122 If the cuckoo does not sing,

123 The measures of the four seasons will not be grasped.

124 If I do not tell the basis for this speech's nature,

125 The faces of the hosts and guests cannot be clearly recognized.

126 Ya! The guests that gather in this house are frightening,

127 And I, like other young speakers, am cowardly,

128 So words are lost between my mouth and my tongue

129 ཆང་དཀར་ཡི་ལ་ནང་ནས་པོ་འགོ་གི།

130 གཤམ་རེ་བསྟོད་པ་བྱེད་མཁན་རྒྱལ་བོའི་བྱང་ན་དཀོན་གི།

131 གཏམ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་བཤད་པ་ད་ཡི་སྒོ་ན་དཀའ་གི།

132 སེམས་ཁྲ་མའི་གོང་ལ་འཆར་ཚུལ།

133 སྒོ་དང་རིག་པས་སྒྲགས་ཚུལ།

134 རྩེ་དར་མའི་མདུད་པ་གྲོལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་གཏམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།

135 ཡ། སྤྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལོ་རྩེབས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་འོག་ན།

136 ས་བསྐྱེད་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ན།

137 སྦྱིད་ཉི་མ་ཡར་ཤར་གྱི་གཡས་གཟུར།

138 རྩེ་གཙང་བོ་ཤོལ་འབབ་ཀྱི་གཡོན་གཟུར།

139 གཡའ་རི་གངས་དཀར་བྲག་དམར་གྱི་རྩབ།

140 སྤྱི་ཀྱི་ཕྱ་ཁྱིམ་ཀ་བཞི་གདུང་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ནང་འདུས།

141 གཞི་མགོན་པོ་གཤམ་ལ་ཚོགས་ན།

142 འདིར་མ་ཚོགས་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད།

143 བྱ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲུང་ཆེན་གཤོག་རྩ་རྒྱང་འདྲ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚོགས་གི།

144 རྩ་ཁྲ་རྩ་རྩ་བ་རྩོད་ཀྱི་དིང་རྩ་བབས་འདྲ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚོགས་གི།

145 སེང་གོ་དཀར་མོས་གཡུ་རལ་ཕྲག་ལ་འཕངས་འདྲ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚོགས་གི།

146 རྩ་རྒྱག་དམར་བོར་མཚལ་གྱི་ཐེག་ལེ་བབས་འདྲ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་

129 And liquor falls out of my cup.

130 The one who praises each group is rare in the king's court

131 And the speech which praises speeches comes with difficulty into my mind

132 [But] if I give a speech of how it comes to my anxious mind,

133 And of how it is managed with thought and knowledge,

134 And how it frees my knotted tongue, then:

135 Ya! Beneath the eight-spoked wheel in the sky,

136 On the earth, the eight-petal lotus,

137 At the right edge, where the happy sun rises;

138 At the left edge, where excess water falls;

139 And at the foot of the white-capped mountain,

140 [People] gather inside a house with four pillars and eight beams.

141 When the important guests gather in groups,

142 There is also not one who doesn't gather here.

143 [At today's wedding] there are people who are like the king of birds, the great garuda.

144 There are people who are like circling hawks and vultures

145 There are people who are like white snow lions tossing their turquoise manes on their shoulders.

146 There are people who are like

ཚལས་གི།

147གཡུ་འབྲུག་ཐོན་མོར་དྲང་གི་གསུམ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚལས་གི།

148ལུ་བྱུག་ཐོན་མོའི་གསུང་ལྷན་གང་ཡག་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚལས་གི།

149མ་བྱ་ཐོན་མོའི་རྩ་གང་བྲག་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཚལས་གི།

150དེ་རིང་གཡལས་གཤམ་གཤམ་ལ་ཚལས་ན།

151གཡལས་གཤམ་འདི་གསེར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།

152གཡོན་གཤམ་གཤམ་ལ་ཚལས་ན།

153གཡོན་གཤམ་འདི་དྲང་གི་ཁླ་བ་ཚས་འདྲ།

154ལྷས་བུ་དབྲ་མ་ཅན་ཚོ་མིང་པའི་གདོང་གཤམ་ལ་ཚལས་ན།

155ཚལས་ས་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞི་འཛིན་གི།

156དལུང་ཉི་ཁྲ་ཤར་ནས་ཤར་ན་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་རྒྱན་རེད།

157རྩ་མིག་གོང་ནས་བབས་ན་ལུང་བའི་བཟུང་རེད།

158ཞོར་སྐྱ་གཤམ་ལ་བཀར་ན་བག་མའི་རྒྱན་རེད།

159རྟ་བོ་གོམ་ལག་བདེ་ན་མགོན་པོའི་བཟུང་རེད།

160མི་བརྒྱ་ཡུག་ལ་ཚལས་ན་ཁྲོམ་པའི་རྒྱན་རེད།

161ད་ནངས་ཚར་དང་བོ་ཟས་གྱི་གཞི་འཛིན།

162གཉིས་པ་གཏམ་གྱི་གོང་བ་འདིར་རེ་རེ་སྒྲུང་ན།

strong red-striped tigers.

147There are people who are like the turquoise dragon's coral belly.

148There are people who are like the blue cuckoo's sweet considerate call.

149There are people who are like the blue peacock's auspicious plumage.

150Today if the right-hand row of guests gather in groups,

151Then this right-hand row is like the golden sun rising

152If the left-hand row gathers in groups,

153Then this left hand row is like a waxing conch shell moon.

154If the men with powerful warrior deities gather in the front row,

155Then they take up residence in the Great Assembly Hall.

156When the sun and moon rise from the east, they are the ornaments of the world.

157When water falls from the clear spring above, it is the valley's nectar.

158When hair on both sides of the head is gathered in braids, the bunches [of braids] are the bride's ornaments.

159When the horse steps gracefully, it is the essence of the guests.

160When hundreds gather in the cave, they are the marketplace's ornaments.

161This morning, we first eat good food,

162And second, if I relate each of the ensuing speeches:

163 ལྷོ་ན་མེད་པའི་མེད་པའི་བརྒྱུད།

164 ལྷོ་མཚན་ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་འཛམ་བུའི་མེད་།

165 ལྷོ་ན་མེད་པའི་མེད་པའི་བརྒྱུད།

166 ལྷོ་མཚན་ལྷོ་ལམ་ལྷོ་མེད་།

167 བར་ས་ཡི་ལྷོ་བ་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་རྩེ་གདན།

168 བེ་ཤི་ལྷོ་དཔལ་ལྷོ་མཚན་པའི་ལྷོ།

169 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

170 བར་བཟུངས་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་དབུས་འདུས།

171 ལྷོ་དཔལ་བཞུགས་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

172 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

173 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

174 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

175 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

176 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

177 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

178 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

179 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

180 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

181 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

182 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

163 In Stod, the four ranges and the eight sub-ranges,

164 The Superior Region, the southern Continent, Jambudvipa.

165 In Smad, the four ranges and eight sub-ranges,

166 The superior Mount Zal mo of Mdo khams,

167 In the center of the middle place, is Bodhghaya of India,

168 Beneath the clear blue lapis sky,

169 On top of the golden ground's elegant mandala,

170 Gathered in the middle of the Eight Auspicious Symbols,

171 Where the virtuous dharma is promoted

172 Is the great region of Vulture Peak Mountain.

173 The morning birth place of the Bhagavan,

174 And the center of Jambudvipa,

175 is the home of the glorious Tibetan kings.

176 The dream place of heroes

177 Is the region in which Tibetan teachings flourish.

178 This home of Tibetan kings, full of a variety of foods,

179 is the place where the 84,000 paths to the Dharma increase.

180 The high blue sky is the rising path of the sun and moon,

181 and the flowing path of the little stars.

182 this expansive sky is the rising path of the southern clouds,

183 ལྷ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་གི་གཤམ་ས།

183 and the place where the turquoise southern dragons roar.

184 རྩ་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་པོ་འདི་གངས་དཀར་གྱི་ཆགས་ས།

184 This Mt. Meru is the place where white snow falls,

185 སང་ཆེན་གྱི་འབྲིངས་ས།

185 And the place where the great snow lions reside.

186 རྣགས་རི་མཐུག་པོ་འདི་རྩ་ལྷག་གི་སྤང་ས།

186 This densely forested mountain is where the tigers lurk.

187 ཐུག་རི་དམར་པོ་འདི་བྱ་ཆོད་ཀྱི་འཕུར་ལམ།

187 This red crag is the vultures' flight path.

188 རྩ་རི་མཐོན་པོ་འདི་འབྲོང་ཐུག་གི་གཤར་ལམ།

188 These rocky heights are marches of wild yaks and their calves.

189 རྩ་མཚའུ་པོ་འདི་རྩ་ལྷ་ཡི་འདུས་ས།

189 This great ocean is where rivers gather.

190 ཐང་ཡངས་མོ་འདི་ཤུ་རྒྱུད་གི་བཞུད་ལམ།

190 This expansive plain is the departure path of deer and wild ass.

191 རྩ་ལྷོ་དོགས་མོ་འདི་གངས་རྩ་ཡི་འབབ་ས།

191 This fearsome mountain base is the place where snow waters flow.

192 བྱམ་གཞི་ཡངས་མོ་འདི་ཁྲིམ་པའི་ཆོགས་ས།

192 This vast courtyard is the guests' gathering place.

193 ཆོགས་པ་ཅན་པོ་འདི་གཏམ་གྱི་སྤང་ས།

193 And it should be said that today this great assembly is the place for conversation,

194 ལུ་ཚུ་རྣམ་རིག་ཅན་ཆོས་སྤྱུ་དབྱངས་དང་གར་ཅེད་བྱེད་ས།

194 where clever youths sing and dance,

195 ཁ་གཡང་དང་ཕུ་གཡང་འབོད་ས་དེ་རིང་འདི་ཡིན་ཟེར་རྒྱ་
ཟེད།

195 and the place to which wealth and auspiciousness are called.

196 ཡུལ་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་ཀྱི་དར་བ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་
ན།

196 Ya! Now I speak a little about how things flourished in the world:

197 རྩོད་དབྱས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ལ་ཆོས་དར་གཟིག།

197 In the upper region, Dbus gtsang, religion flourished;

198 མྱད་རྩ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ལ་ཆོང་དར་གཟིག།

198 In the lower region, China, business flourished.

199 ལྷ་རྩལ་བོད་ལ་གཉེན་དར་གཟིག།

199 And in Royal Tibet, weddings flourished.

200 གཉེན་དང་བོ་རྩོད་རྩ་ཡུལ་ནས་དར་གཟིག།

200 The first wedding flourished in

201 ལྷ་མ་ཆེན་ཆངས་པ་བརྒྱ་བྱི་བུ་མ་ལྷ་གཤོག་ལྷེ་མ་
ཟེར་ནོ།

202 ལྷ་མ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་གཙུག་ན་རིན་ཆེན་བྱི་བུ་ལ་མནའ་མ་བྱིན་
གཟིག།

203 ལྷ་མ་ལྷའི་ཡུལ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་ནས།

204 ལྷ་མིན་ལྷ་བརྒྱད་མགོན་ལ་ཆས་གཟིག།

205 བག་མའི་བག་སྐྱེལ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

206 ལྷ་མ་དུག་ཁྲ་མོ་བག་རོགས་བྱས་གཟིག།

207 བག་མའི་བག་རོགས་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

208 དག་ཆོགས་སྐྱ་མོ་ཀ་རིན་བྱས་གཟིག།

209 བག་མའི་ཀ་རིན་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

210 ལྷ་མ་ན་དོ་རྩེ་དཔོན་བྱས་གཟིག།

211 བག་མའི་ཇ་དཔོན་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

212 མ་རྒྱན་པ་ལྷ་འབྱུང་གནས་ལྷ་དཔོན་བྱས་གཟིག།

213 བག་མའི་ལྷ་དཔོན་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

214 མཁྱེན་རབ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་བར་བ་བྱས་གཟིག།

215 བག་མའི་བར་བ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

216 རིན་ཆེན་འབར་བ་རྩུང་བརྒྱད་བྱིན་གཟིག།

217 བག་མའི་བར་ཆ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

218 ལྷའི་གནམ་རྟ་བྱི་ལིང་འཕྱར་ཤེས་ཟེར་ནོ།

the upper realm of the gods.

201 The daughter of the great gods, Brahma and Indra, was called Khyung gshog ldem ma,

202 She was given as a bride to the son of the naga king, Gtsug na rinchen.

203 After the goddess was escorted to the naga realm,

204 The eight classes of gods and spirits were guests.

205 At that time, [the custom of] bridal parties flourished.

206 The maid of honor was the beautiful Pleiades

207 At that time, [the custom of] bridesmaids flourished.

208 The galaxy was the bride-wealth;

209 At that time, the custom of bride-wealth flourished.

210 Vajrapani was the tea leader;

211 At that time, the custom of having a bridal tea leader flourished.

212 The lotus-born Padmasambhava was the outer leader;

213 At that time the custom of having an outer leader flourished.

214 Manjusri was the matchmaker;

215 At the time, [the custom of having] matchmakers flourished.

216 A dazzling eight-faceted jewel was given [to him].

217 At that time, the [custom of giving a] bridal gift to the matchmaker flourished.

218 The god's steed which was so fast people said it could fly,

219གཉེན་པོའི་གཉེན་རྒྱ་ལྷོན་གཟིག་ཟེར་གྱི།

220གཉེན་པོའི་གཉེན་རྒྱ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

221ལྷའི་རྩ་རྒྱ་ལྷོན་མོ་བཀ་མའི་བཀ་རྒྱ་བྱས་གཟིག།

222བཀ་མའི་བཀ་རྒྱ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

223རྩ་བུ་འོད་འབར་རྩ་དུས་བྱས་གཟིག།

224འཇའ་ཚོན་ལྷ་ལྷའི་ཐོག་གོས་བསྐྱོན་གཟིག།

225རྩ་དུང་དང་ཐོག་གོས་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

226རྩ་མགོ་ལི་མ་སྟོན་ཆང་བྱས་གཟིག།

227ཉ་མོ་གསེར་མེག་སྟོན་ཤ་བྱས་གཟིག།

228སྟོན་ཤ་དང་སྟོན་ཆང་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།

229རྩ་ལྷ་མི་གསུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་དུས་ན།།

230ལྷའི་བྱ་གསལ་བོ་བྱེད་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའི་གཏམ་གྱི་ཐང་འཇའ་
མོ་ཟེར་ན་འདི་དུས་གཏམ་གཟིག་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།།

231ཡུང་གཉེན་གྱི་བར་མ་དར་ལྷགས་ཤིག་བཤད་ན།།

232གཉེན་གྱི་བར་མ་བོད་ནས་དར་གཟིག།

233བོད་རྒྱལ་རྩ་སྐུ་བཅན་པོའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ།།

234བལ་བཟའ་ཁྱི་སྐུ་བོད་ལུལ་ལ་གདན་དངས་གཟིག།

235བལ་བོ་གཡུ་ལི་གཏོར་སྟོ་ཕྱེ་གཟིག།

236བལ་བོད་གཉིས་ལ་གཉེན་དར་བའི་དུས་ན།།

219Was the horse the groom rode;

220At that time, the [custom of] the groom's horse flourished.

221The naga's blue hippopotamus was the bridal horse.

222At that time, the [custom of the] bridal horse flourished.

223Splendid jewels were [her] conch earrings;

224And [she] wore a five-colored shirt.

225At that time, [the custom of] earrings and shirts flourished.

226The clean spring-water was the wedding liquor

227And golden-eyed fish were wedding meat;

228At that time, the [customs of having] festal meat and festive liquor flourished.

229When the gods, nagas, and people gather,

230It should be said that the divine son Gsal bo khye'u chung's Thang 'ja' mo was called a speech at that time.

231Ya! Now I explain how the middle weddings flourished

232The middle wedding flourished in Tibet.

233During the time of the Tibetan king, Lha sras btsan po,

234The Nepalese princess, Khri lcām, was invited to Tibet,

235And opened the Nepalese turquoise treasure door.

236When marriage between Nepal

237 ཁང་ཁྱུང་དཔོན་གྱིས་གཡང་སྟོབ་བྱས་གཟིག།
 238 རྩ་དཔོན་དྲན་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་བྱས་གཟིག།
 239 ལྷ་མིན་ཟེ་བརྒྱད་བྱན་ལ་བཀོལ་གཟིག།
 240 རྩ་དཔོན་ཆོ་རིང་རིག་འཛིན་བྱས་གཟིག།
 241 ལྷ་མིའི་ཆོ་ཡི་རྩ་ཐག་བཟུང་གཟིག།
 242 མཁས་པ་སྟོང་རུང་མཐུ་ཆེན་ཟེར་བས།
 243 བལ་བོད་གཉིས་ལ་བར་གཏམ་གཟིག།
 244 ལྷ་བ་སྟོང་རྩལ་འབུམ་ཐུབ་ཟེར་བས།
 245 ལྷ་དབྱངས་ཆེད་མིའི་མགོ་བཟུང་གཟིག།
 246 ལྷ་གངས་དཀར་ཏི་ལེ་སྟོན་ལྷ་བྱས་གཟིག།
 247 མཆོ་མ་པས་གཡུ་མཆོ་སྟོན་ཆང་བྱས་གཟིག།
 248 ཉ་པོས་པ་ལ་ཆེ་སྟོན་ཤ་བྱས་གཟིག།
 249 ཉ་གས་དང་སྟོན་མ་དེ་དུས་དར་གཟིག།
 250 ཤེས་རབ་དབྱང་བྱ་ཁྱི་ཤེས་ཟེར་བས། གཏམ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་དེ་
 དུས་བཤད་གཟིག་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།
 251 ཡུ་དང་གཉེན་གྱི་གཞུག་མ་དར་རྩལ་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 252 རྩ་བོད་གཉིས་ལ་གཉེན་དར་གཟིག།
 253 ལྷ་མི་རྩ་བཟའ་ཀོན་ཇོ་བོད་ལ་གདན་དྲངས་གཟིག།
 254 བོད་ཀྱི་གནམ་རི་སྟངས་བཙན་གྱི་མནའ་མ་བྱས་གཟིག།

and Tibet flourished,
 237Tantrikas from Zhang chung made
 sacrifices.
 238The first group's leader was Dran
 pa nam mkha',
 239And the eight classes of gods and
 demons were bound into service.
 240The latter group's leader was Tshe
 ring rig 'dzin,
 241And he grasped the royal lineage
 of deities and humans.
 242A scholar named Stong rung mthu
 chen,
 243Spoke as the matchmaker between
 Nepal and Tibet.
 244A singer named Stong rgyal 'bum
 thub,
 245Began the music and games.
 246The white snows of Mt. Tise in
 Stod were festive cakes of cheese.
 247Lake Manarasowar, the glittering
 blue lake, was the wedding liquor.
 248The large-mouthed catfish was the
 festive meat.
 249The symbols and the feast
 flourished at that time.
 250It should be said that the wise
 Dpyad bu khri shes gave the praise
 speech at that time.
 251Ya! Now I will explain how the last
 weddings flourished;
 252Weddings flourished between
 China and Tibet.
 253The Chinese princess, Kong jo,
 was invited to Tibet,
 254And became the daughter-in-law

255 ཡོང་ཙུལ་བོས་རྩེས་བརྒྱབ་གཟིག།

256 རྩོན་པོ་མགར་སྟོང་བཅན་གྱིས་བར་གཏམ་གཟིག།

257 རྒྱལ་བོ་སྟོང་བཅན་སྐམ་པོ་མག་བ་བྱས་གཟིག།

258 རྩ་དཔོན་ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་གཟིག།

259 རྩ་དཔོན་རྩེ་བཅན་སྐོམ་མ་བྱས་གཟིག།

260 རྩ་བོ་ཤུག་ལྷ་ནེ་རྩེ་བྱས་གཟིག།

261 ཧྲ་ཤར་རྒྱལ་བོས་བསྐྱལ་ནས་ཡོང་གཟིག།

262 རྒྱ་ལྷ་དཀར་བསམ་པའི་དོན་འབྲུབ་མགོན་མགོ་བྱས་གཟིག།

263 རྒྱའི་ཏ་བ་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་མགོན་ལ་ཆས་གཟིག།

264 རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སྟོན་མོ་བྱས་གཟིག།

265 གཞིན་གྱི་དར་བ་རྩམ་གསུམ་རེ་རེ་བཤད་ན་འདི་འདྲ་ཙམ་
ཞིག་རེད་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།

266 ཡུ་དམ་ཁུ་དུང་གི་སྐྱ་ར་ཅན་ཆོས།

267 ལ་བརྟེ་ཅ་ཙམ་བཤད་གཏམ་ལ་ཉོན།

268 ལྷ་ཆ་གཡུ་རལ་ཅན་ཆོས།

269 ལྷ་རེ་ཕྱེད་མོ་མ་ཕྱེ་གཏམ་ལ་ཉོན།

of the Tibetan [king] Gnam ri srong
btsan.

255 Emperor Gong tse did the
divination,

256 Minister Mgar stong btsan made
the match,

257 King Srong btsan sgam po was the
groom,

258 The first group's leader was
Avalokitesvara,

259 The later group's leader was Rje
brtsun Tara,

260 And the Jobo Shakyamuni was the
parting gift.¹⁰

261 It came escorted by the Chinese
monks' leaders.

262 The wish-fulfilling Chinese deities
were the chief guests,¹¹

263 [And with them] 500 Chinese
riders also came as guests.

264 China and Tibet held feasts.

265 When I explain the spread of the
three types of weddings, it should be
said that it was like this.

266 Ya! Now [dear] coral-mustached
uncles,

267 Listen to my speech without
speaking or murmuring.

268 [Dear] turquoise-maned youths,

269 Listen to my speech without
joking and playing.

¹⁰This refers to the image in the Jo khang in Lhasa that Kongjo (Ch: Wencheng), the Chinese princess (line 253), famously brought to her wedding.

¹¹Because the monks came, so did their deities.

270 ལྷ་མོ་དྲང་རལ་ཅན་ཚོས།

271 དྲང་ལ་ཁྲིག་ཀྱི་མ་ཁྲིལ་གཏམ་ལ་ཉན།

272 རྒྱལ་པོ་རབ་ཀྱིས་གཏམ་ལ་ཉན་ན།

273 གངས་དཀར་མེས་ཀྱིས་ཉན་ན།

274 གངས་དཀར་མེས་ལ་ཨེ་འབབ་བརྩ་ངས།

275 རྒྱལ་པོ་འབྲིང་གིས་གཏམ་ལ་ཉན་ན།

276 མགོ་གཟུར་ན་ཡིས་ཉན་ན།

277 མགོ་གཟུར་ན་ཡིས་ཨེ་གོ་བརྩ་ངས།

278 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐ་མེས་གཏམ་ལ་ཉན་ན།

279 ཁའང་གངས་ནས།

280 མིག་ཀྱང་འཇུར་ནས།

281 རྒྱའང་ལྷག་ནས་ཉན་པ་དཔེ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།

282 ཡུད་དགུང་ཐོན་མཐོན་པོ་ལ་དཔེ་རེ་ཐངས་ན།

283 བྱི་མ་མ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏམ་ཞིག་གཏམ་ན།

284 ཤར་རྩ་བོ་གཤེད་ཡན་ཆད།

285 ལྷ་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་བོ་ལྷན་ཆད།

286 ལྷ་དྲང་རི་ལྷོ་མོ་མན་ཆད།

287 བྱང་རྟ་རྒྱ་ཁ་མཚུས་ལྷན་ཆད་ནས།

288 གོང་མ་རྒྱལ་བོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས།

289 ཁྲི་མ་འབུམ་གྱི་ཞང་རབས།

290 ལྷན་པོ་འབུམ་གྱི་ལས་རབས།

270 [Dear] conch shell haired girls

271 Listen to my speech without blowing conchs.

272 If an excellent man listens to the speech,

273 If [he] listens with a pure heart,

274 Then we'll certainly see if learns it by heart.

275 If the average man listens to the speech,

276 If [he] listens with cocked ears,

277 Then we'll certainly see if he understands with cocked ears.

278 If an inferior man listens to the speech,

279 He opens his mouth,

280 Opens his eyes,

281 And listens with snot dangling from his nose, it should be said that these are archetypal examples.

282 Ya! Now taking the deep azure sky as an example,

283 If I were to give a speech well known to all,

284 From the upper part of the eastern river, the Ganges,

285 To Sri Parvati in the south,

286 From beneath the western Conch mountain gate,

287 Up to the gates of Hor in the North

288 Of the lineage of the former kings

289 If I were to give a speech of the lineage of countless inhabitants,

290 The lineage of many ministers.

291གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་བཞེང་ཚུལ།

291The way the Gtsug lag khang was built,

292སྤྱོད་ཕྱེ་ཡུལ་གྱི་བཅད་པ།

292The division of the villages and regions,

293རྒྱ་འབངས་ནམས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་ཚུལ།

293The way the king and his subjects were connected,

294གྲུ་བཞིའི་མཁར་གྱི་བརྟེན་ཚུལ།

294The way the square was built,

295འབྲུང་བ་ལྔ་ཡི་ཆགས་ཚུལ།

295The way the five elements came into being,

296ཐུར་ཁ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་གྲོལ་ཚུལ།

296The way the eight trigrams were deciphered,

297མགོ་ནག་མི་ཡི་འབྱུངས་ཚུལ་འདི་ཙམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

297And the way the black-headed people were born,

298ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་མཐར་མི་ཐུག་གི།

298[I] would not finish within one month.

299ཀླན་ལ་ཁུབ་པའི་ཐྱིའི་ཁྲི་གདུགས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་དཔེ་རེ་ལྷངས་ནས།

299Taking the universal, all-pervasive sun as an example,

300ནང་འབྲེལ་དོན་ཅན་གྱི་གཏམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

300If I give a speech possessing meaning and purpose:

301དང་པོ་རྩོན་པ་འབྱུངས་ཚུལ།

301First, how the teacher [the Buddha] was born;

302བར་དུ་བརྟན་པ་དར་ཚུལ།

302Then how the [Buddhist] teachings flourished;

303ཆས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱོར་ཚུལ།

303How the wheel of the dharma turned;

304ཐ་མར་བཀའ་དྲིན་སྦྱང་ཚུལ།

304And finally, how kindness was nourished.

305མདོ་དྲི་མེད་ལ་གྲུ་ཐྱོད་ཚུལ།

305How the immaculate lambs were given,

306སྐྱོ་མ་ཅི་སྐྱོག་གོ་བཏགས་ཚུལ།

306How the *ma Ni* buttons were fastened

307མཚོད་ཉེན་དཀར་པོའི་བང་རིམ་གྱེན་ལ་བརྟེན་ཚུལ།

307And how the upward steps of the white stupa were built

308འདི་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།

308If I were to tell of these,

309ཉི་མ་གཅིག་ལ་སྟེ་མི་ཟེན་གི།

309[I] wouldn't finish in a single day.

310མང་ར་རྩ་བའི་ཚུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ལ་དཔེ་རེ་ལྷངས་ནས་གཏམ་འདྲེན་གི་མཚོ་ཆད་གཅིག་ལ་རེམ་པས་གཏམ་ཞིག་གཏམ་

310Now I am going to give a speech like the endless flowing Mang ra

ན།

311 དཀའ་མ་མ་བོ་ཚུ་རེད།

312 དཀོན་པོ་མ་བོ་ལྷ་རེད།

313 ཁོང་ཆེན་པོ་གསེར་རེད།

314 ང་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱ་རེད།

315 ལྷ་མ་བོ་གཉེན་རེད།

316 གཉེན་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ།

317 དར་དམར་གྱི་ཐེག་ལ།

318 ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་མ་ལོང་།

319 དུལ་དཀར་གྱི་རྩལ་བ།

320 སང་གདེག་ཏུ་ཟ།

321 བཞེགས་དཀར་གྱི་སྐབས་རིང་འདི་ཚོར་དཔེ་རེ་སྤངས་ནས་
དོན་རེ་དངས་ན།

322 གཉེན་དར་དཀར་འདྲ་བོ་ཕྱར་ན་ཡག་གི།

323 དར་དམར་གྱི་ཐེག་ལེ་བབས་ན་ཡག་གི།

324 ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་མ་ལོང་ཕྱིས་ན་ཡག་གི།

325 དུལ་དཀར་གྱི་རྩལ་བ་དྲོལ་ན་ཡག་གི།

326 སང་ཐིང་གི་ཏུ་ཟ་དྲོལ་ན་ཡག་གི།

327 སྒྲག་དཀར་གྱི་སྐབས་རིང་འདི་ཚོར་འདྲ་དུས་ཡག་གི།

328 འདྲུབ་དུས་སྒྲ་ནོ་བོད་ལ་སྤོང་པའི་དཔེ་རེད་ཟེར་རྒྱ་རེད།

329 ཡུ་དཀ་གཏམ་གྱི་བསྟོད་པ་ནུས་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

330 མཐོན་པོས་མཐོན་པོ་བསྟོད་གི།

River:

311 The difficult thing is the dharma;

312 The rare thing is the garuda.

313 The valuable thing is gold;

314 The most desired thing is property;

315 And the thing that flourishes is the wedding.

316 The white silk wedding cloth,

317 The red flag's circles,

318 The white bronze mirror,

319 The white silver bells,

320 The sandalwood *Da ru* drum,

321 And the long seams of white cloth; taking each as an example and explaining them:

322 If the white silk wedding banners fly, it is good.

323 If the red dots are put on the banners, it is good.

324 If you rub the white bronze mirrors, it is good.

325 If you ring the silver bell, it is good.

326 If you beat the sandalwood *Da ru* drum, it is good.

327 When these white sheepskin robes' long seams are even, it is good.

328 It should be said that these things, which can be easily made, are Tibetan customs.

329 *Ya!* Now I will explain the three kinds of praises:

330 The exalted praise the exalted;

331 དགུང་མ་ཚོན་ཁ་ཡ་ཐུན་གྱིས་བསྟོད་གི།

331 The azure blue sky is praised by its companion, the clouds;

332 མཐུགས་པོས་མཐུགས་པ་བསྟོད་གི།

332 The swift praise the swift;

333 ཏ་འདྲ་བའི་གོམ་པ་རྒྱུད་གིས་བསྟོད་གི།

333 The pace of the excellent horse is praised by the wind;

334 འཕྱར་བས་འཕྱར་བ་བསྟོད་གི།

334 The dandy praises the dandy;

335 ཀོས་ཚ་བུའི་འདབ་མ་གྱིས་བསྟོད་གི།

335 The lambskin robe's hem is praised by the otter.

336 སེར་པོས་སེར་པོ་བསྟོད་གི།

336 Yellow praises yellow

337 བརྟེ་སེར་པོས་དབུས་བསྟོད་གི།

337 The Yellow-hat monk praises Dbus;

338 ངང་བ་སེར་པོས་མཚོ་བསྟོད་གི།

338 The yellow duck praises the sea;

339 རྩུག་མ་སེར་པོས་མདའ་བསྟོད་གི།

339 The yellow bamboo praises the arrow.

340 རྩུན་པོས་རྩུན་པོ་བསྟོད་གི།

340 Blue praises blue.

341 ཁྲུང་ཁྲུང་རྩུན་མོས་དགུང་བསྟོད་གི།

341 The blue crane praises the sky

342 ལྷ་བྱག་རྩུན་མོས་ལོ་བསྟོད་གི།

342 The blue cuckoo praises the year.

343 མ་བྱ་རྩུན་མོས་སྒྲ་བསྟོད་གི།

343 The blue peacock praises the plumage.

344 ཡཱ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་རྣམ་གསུམ་བཤད་ན།།

344 Ya! Now I speak of the three great things:

345 སེར་པོ་གསེར་འདྲི་གོང་ཆེ་གི།

345 This yellow gold is valuable.

346 རྩུན་མོ་རྣམ་ལ་འབྲེལ་ཆེ་གི།

346 The blue barley is abundant.

347 སྒྱུས་པང་ཆང་ལ་ངོ་ཆེ་གི།

347 The gift-wrapped bottle of *chang* is important.

348 ཡཱ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།།

348 Ya! Now I speak of the three types of gatherings:

349 བན་ཚས་ཡོད་ཚས་མེད་དབུས་ལ་ཚོགས་གི།

349 Monks, whether or not they have religion, gather in Dbus.

350 ལྷ་ཚོང་ཡོད་ཚོང་མེད་ཁྲུམ་ལ་ཚོགས་གི།

350 Chinese merchants gather in the market, whether or not they have goods.

351 བདག་གཞི་མགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཉེན་ལ་ཚོགས་གི།

351 The hosts and guests both gather at the wedding.

352 ཡུད་གཏམ་གྱི་འདུས་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

353 ལྷག་འདུས་གཟིག་འདུས་ནགས་ལ་འདུས་གི།

354 ཉ་འདུས་སྐམ་འདུས་མཚོ་ལ་འདུས་གི།

355 ས་འདུས་བྱ་འདུས་གྲལ་འདུས་གི།

356 ཡུད་གཏམ་གྱི་འདུས་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

357 དགུང་ཨ་ཐོན་ཡག་གི་གོང་བ་ནས།

358 སྔ་རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱུང་གཟན་ན་འདུས་གི།

359 རྒྱ་ཁུ་ཡག་གི་གོང་བ་ནས།

360 རྩུང་ཐོན་མོ་ཤལ་ལ་འདུས་གི།

361 གྲལ་ཁྲོམ་པ་ཡག་གི་གོང་བ་ནས།

362 རྩུ་ཟ་འདྲོད་ཀྱི་བར་བ་གཉེན་ལ་འདུས་གི།

363 ཡུད་གཏམ་གྱི་དགའ་བ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

364 མཉམ་མ་བཟང་བོ་བརྩི་བཀུར་ཡོད་ན་ཨ་མས་དགའ་གི།

365 ལག་དང་ལས་ཀ་བཟང་ན་ཨ་མ་ཉེ་དགའ་གི།

366 ཁྲ་དང་གོན་འདྲིམས་བཟང་ན་མཉམ་མ་དགའ་གི།

367 ཡག་དང་མོ་སྒོ་ཡོད་ན་མག་བ་དགའ་གི།

368 ཡུད་ཐོན་མའི་སྐལ་བ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

352 *Ya! Now I speak of the three kinds of meetings:*

353 *The tiger assembly and the leopard assembly meet in the forest.*

354 *The school of fish and the otters meet in the ocean.*

355 *The assemblies of fathers and of sons meet in rows.*

356 *Ya! Now I speak of the three kinds of belonging:*

357 *In the blue azure sky,*

358 *The little black ravens are at home in the grass.*

359 *On the beautiful mountain, the blue mountain wolves are*

360 *Accustomed to being greedy.*

361 *Among the groups of guests,*

362 *The matchmakers who desire to take a bribe are at home at the wedding.*

363 *Ya! Now I speak of the three kinds of happiness:*

364 *If the daughter-in-law is good and polite, the grandfather is happy.*

365 *If her hands and handiwork are good, her mother-in-law is happy.*

366 *If her clothes and ornaments are beautiful, the bride is happy.*

367 *If she is a beauty, the groom is happy.*

368 *Ya! Now I speak of the three kinds of wedding times:*

369 དགའ་ཨ་ཐོན་ཡག་གི་གོང་བ་ནས།

369 From the good azure blue sky
above,

370 དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་ལ།

370 In the first of the three summer
months,

371 བྱ་ལྷག་ཐོན་མོས་གསུང་སྟན་སྟོག་ནས།

371 The blue cuckoo, has called
pleasantly three times,

372 མ་ཡག་སྟེ་མའི་འཇུག་མདངས་རིག་དུས་སྟོན་མའི་སྐབས་
ཤིག་རེད།

372 And when we see the smiling faces
of the stalks of grain, it is a wedding
time.

373 སྟོན་ཟླ་གསུམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་ལ།

373 In the first of the three autumn
months,

374 མ་རྟག་གསེར་ཆེན་གྱི་ལ།

374 At the edge of the great golden
flower,

375 གསེར་རྩེད་གི་འདབ་མ་རྒྱས་ནས།

375 After the golden petals have
bloomed,

376 འབྲུ་བརྩད་ལོ་རྟག་ནང་ལ་ལེན་དུས་སྟོན་མའི་སྐབས་ཤིག་
རེད།

376 When the grain is harvested and
brought home, it's a wedding time.

377 དགུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་ནས།

377 In the first of the three winter
months,

378 རྩ་ཆེན་དལ་མོར་འབྲུམ་དར་ཆགས་ནས།

378 After the great river freezes at its
banks,

379 ཉ་སྐམ་མང་བོ་སྦྱིད་ལ་འདུས་དུས་སྟོན་མའི་སྐབས་ཤིག་
རེད་ཟེར་བྱ་རེད།

379 when many fish and otters gather
happily, one should call it a wedding
time.

380 ཡ། ད་དེ་རིང་ཚོར་ཨ་ཁུ་བྱ་དཔོན་གྱི་བསྟོད་པ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

380 Ya! Now today I speak the praises
of the Tantric practitioners:

381 དཔོན་མ་བྱ་ཐོད་དགས།

381 The white skull of the princes,

382 ལྷ་བཤོས་ཞལ་དགས།

382 The divine offering cup,

383 མར་མེ་རང་འབར།

383 The self-burning butter lamp,

384 མགོ་ཐོག་གི་བྱམ་བ།

384 The vase on top of the head,

385 རྩ་ཐོག་གི་བདུད་ཅི།

385 And nectar on the tongue,

386 དབྱར་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་ལ་རྩ་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་ཆེ་ནས་
བཞུགས་གི།

386 He lives on the snowy summit of
the rocky mountain during the three
summer months.

387 རྩ་དཀར་ལ་ལོ་གཡས་ལ་བཞོར་གི།

387 He chases away white clouds to

388 ལྷན་ནག་ཁ་ལོ་གཡོན་ན་བསྐྱོར་གི།
 389 ལེར་བ་ལྷག་ཁྱུ་འདེད་འདེད་བྱེད་གི།
 390 ཆར་བ་འོ་མ་བཞོ་བཞོ་བྱེད་གི།
 391 ལྷན་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་ལ།།
 392 རྩ་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་སྐོང་ན་བཞུགས་གི།
 393 རྒྱང་ཁ་དཀར་བཟུང་ནས་སློ་ཏྲ་བྱེད་གི།
 394 འབྲོང་བྲེ་ལེར་བཟུང་ནས་སློ་ཞོག་བྱེད་གི།
 395 རྒྱང་དར་མ་བཟུང་ནས་སློ་བྱེད་བྱེད་གི།
 396 དལུན་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་ལ།།
 397 རྩ་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་འདབས་ནས་བཞུགས་གི།
 398 ལྷ་དམ་གཏོར་མ་གོང་ནས་བཤམས་གི།
 399 བདུད་ཅི་མཆོད་གཡམས་ནས་བཤམས་གི།
 400 དམར་ཆེན་རྟ་གཡོན་ནས་བཤམས་གི།
 401 བཀའ་འབྱུང་དཔེ་ཆ་མདུན་དུ་བཤམས་གི།
 402 རྩ་ནན་དལུང་ཐོན་གནམ་ལ་འདྲོགས་གི།
 403 རྩ་བཞུག་བར་སྤང་ཁམས་ལ་བྱར་གི།
 404 ཡར་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་མཆོད་བཀུར་བྱེད་གི།
 405 ལྷ་ལྷགས་ཀུན་ལ་སྤང་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་གི།
 406 གདོན་བགོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་མཚམས་གཙོད་གི།
 407 དེ་འདྲའི་སྐྱེས་རབས་ནམ་ཐར་ཅན་གྱི་དག་པོ་མ་ཁུ་དཔོན་

the right.
 388[He] chases away black clouds to the left.
 389[He] chases away hail like driving sheep,
 390And makes it rain like pouring milk.
 391During the three autumn months.
 392[He] lives half-way up the snow-covered rocky mountain.
 393[He] captures a white-mouthed onager and makes it his horse.
 394[He] captures wild yaks and domesticates them;
 395And [he] captures adult wolves and makes them his watchdogs.
 396During the three winter months
 397[He] lives at the foot of the snow-covered rocky mountain.
 398[He] places the tutelary deity's *gtor ma* above him;
 399[He] places the *bdud rtsi sman mchod* to his right;
 400[He] places the great red *rakta* to his left;
 401[He] places volumes of the *Bka' gyur* in front of him;
 402[He]hangs the big ancient drum in the sky;
 403[He] raises the drumstick aloft in the sky;
 404[He] praises and honors the Three Jewels;
 405[He] defends all sentient beings;
 406And stops all evil and misfortune;
 407A person who has a succession of

ཡིན་ཟེར་རྒྱ་རེད།

lives like that should be called the A khu dpon.

408 ཡ། ལ་མ་ཞང་ཆང་གི་བསྟོད་པ་ནམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

408 Ya! Now I speak the praises of the A zhang,

409 ལྷ་མ་དྲིལ་བཟུང་དབུས་ནས་སྐྱེས་གཟིག།

409 The bell-holding lama was born in Dbus,

410 དྲིལ་བུའི་གསུང་སྟན་ན་ལ་སྟན་གི།

410 And the sound of the bell rings in his ears;

411 དཔལ་བོ་གཞན་ནུ་མང་པོ་སྐྱེས་གཟིག།

411 Many young heroes were born,

412 དཔལ་བོ་སྐྱེས་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ན་གསལ་གི།

412 And the heroes' birth is told everywhere;

413 མཁས་པ་ལྗེ་བདེ་རྒྱུད་ནས་འབྱུངས་གཟིག།

413 Wise, nimble-tongued speakers are born from this lineage,

414 ཀཏམ་གོ་རིམ་ཅན་པོ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་གོ་གི།

414 And their articulate speeches are heard everywhere.

415 མགོ་ལྷ་ཁང་གསེར་རྟོག་དགུང་ལ་རྒྱག་ནས།

415 The main temple's golden roof ornament is high in the sky,

416 དགུང་ཉི་ཟླ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཆར་ལམ་འགོག་གི།

416 And obstructs the rising of both the sun and moon.

417 མཁར་རྒྱ་མཐིམ་མཁར་ཁ་ཁྱེན་བྱིས་བདུམས་ནས།

417 The upper part of the earth-colored wall is covered with cloth,

418 རྒྱང་མེར་བུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཟུང་ལམ་འགོག་གི།

418 And obstructs the path of both the wind and the breeze.

419 ཞིང་རི་བྱིས་རྩ་མ་ནས་ཀྱིས་བཀང་ནས།

419 The fields are full of barley.

420 རྒྱ་བོད་སྐད་ཆང་མའི་བཟུང་ལམ་འགོག་གི།

420 And obstruct the paths of all Chinese, Tibetans, and Mongolians

421 མགོ་མ་མའི་བྲ་ཁ་རྒྱང་གིས་བསྟོད་ནས།

421 If the wind blows on the fox fur hat,

422 རྒྱང་བསེར་བུ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཆད་པ་གཙོད་གི།

422 The wind and breeze will both be punished

423 ལྷས་གོས་ཆེན་འབྲུག་མ་ཆར་བྱིས་བངས་ན།

423 If the rain soaks the silk clothes,

424 དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱེན་ཆར་བ་ཆད་པ་གཙོད་གི།

424 The sky and the rain will be punished

425 ཀངས་གཞི་ལྷས་ཕྱ་ཉིང་རྡོ་ལ་བློག་ན།

425 If the soles of the leather boots are caught on stones,

426 རྩ་གཡུའ་མ་ཡིན་ཅད་ཆད་པ་གཙོད་གི།
 427 མ་བསྟོད་དགུང་ཐོན་གནམ་བསྟོད་ལས་དྲག་མོ་ས་བསྟོད་
 ཅ།།
 428 དགུང་མ་ཐོན་ཁ་ཡ་བཀུགས་སེ་བསྟོད་ལ་ཟེར་རྒྱ་རེད།།

 429 ཡུད་གཉེན་ཆད་ངན་པས་རང་བསྟོད་དང་།།
 430 རྩལ་མའི་བུ་བསྟོད་བྱས་ནི་མིན་གྱིང་།།
 431 ཁོག་གི་པ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་བཟང་ཐང་།།
 432 མ་ཡུམ་གྱི་གོང་ཐང་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།།
 433 རྟོད་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ལ་ཆོས་ཟམ་འཕངས་ནས།།
 434 ཆད་དུམ་པ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་བཞི་ལྷོད་གདན་དངས་ཏེ།།
 435 མགོ་རྩ་ཁང་གསེར་ཁང་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་བཀང་ཡོད།།
 436 སྒྲ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཆོང་ཟམ་འཕངས་ནས།།
 437 རྩ་ལན་ཆེན་ལན་ཆུང་ཤིང་རྩ་དངས་ཏེ།།
 438 རྩ་ཡུལ་ཆད་མར་པོ་ལྷག་ལ་བཞེགས་ཡོད།།
 439 གནས་རོང་འབྲོག་གཉིས་ལ་ཆོང་ཟམ་འཕངས་ནས།།
 440 དངུལ་དོང་ཅོ་གཉིས་ཀ་མཛོད་ལ་མནན་ཡོད།།
 441 ལས་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱུང་རིགས་སྒྲ་ལྡ་བཏབ་ནས།།
 442 འབྲུ་མང་བོས་བང་མཛོད་བཀང་ནས་ཡོད།།
 443 ཞིང་རི་བྱིས་རི་ཤོལ་ཁྱབ་ནས་ཡོད།།
 444 རྩ་འདྲི་བའི་སྒྲ་ཆ་བསྐྱེགས་ནས་ཡོད།།
 445 མཛོད་ཁྱུང་དཀར་སྒྲ་གདང་གཉིབ་ནས་ཡོད།།

426 The stones will be punished.
 427 When praising the earth instead of
 the sky,
 428 One should still say that the sky
 itself is highly praised.

 429 *Ya!* Now the inferior kinsmen
 praise themselves.
 430 I don't praise the rotten son, but
 431 Now I will speak of his father's
 goodness,
 432 And of his mother's worth:
 433 In the Upper region of Dbus
 gtsang, religious bridges were built,
 434 84,000 religious volumes were
 brought,
 435 And the main temples were filled
 with scriptures.
 436 After mercantile bridges were
 built in lower China,
 437 Great and small bricks of tea were
 brought on wagons,
 438 And quality brick tea was piled in
 the homes.
 439 After farmers and nomads built
 mercantile bridges,
 440 Silver and copper coins were
 minted in the treasury.
 441 Having planted all kinds of merit-
 accumulating crops,
 442 Storerooms were filled.
 443 Fields have spread everywhere,
 444 Saddles of horses have been
 prepared,
 445 Ropes for tethering the white
mdzo herd have been prepared,

446 ལྷགས་ཁ་ཁ་ལྷས་མཐའ་བསྐྱེལ་ནས་ཡོད།

446 And multicolored livestock have been penned in the yard.

447 མ་བསྟོད་དགུང་ཚོན་གནས་བསྟོད་དེ་དོག་མོས་བསྟོད་ན།

447 When praising the earth instead of the sky,

448 དགུང་ཨ་ཐོན་བར་ན་ཆུག་ཡུ་གང་ཡོད་ཟེར་གྱུ་རེད།

448 One should say that there is a space the length of a forearm between the earth and sky.

449 ཡུལ་དགསང་ཐུགས་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་བསྟོད་པ་ནམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

449 Ya! Now I speak the praises of Gsang sngags bde chen:

450 ས་བགྲ་ཤིས་ཉུགས་བརྒྱད་འཛོམས་པའི་གནས་ན།

450 In the place where the Eight Auspicious Symbols are gathered,

451 རྒྱལ་རི་བགྲ་ཤིས་ཆེ་ཡི་མཁུན་ན།

451 In front of the auspicious mountain,

452 ས་མེ་ལོང་འདྲ་བའི་དགྲིལ་ན།

452 In the middle, the earth resembles a mirror,

453 སྒར་ཁ་ཁ་མེ་ཉོག་བཞད་འདྲ།

453 The multicolored tents are pitched like flowers,

454 སེར་ལམ་མེ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།

454 Like the rising yellow sun,

455 རྩ་གཙང་བའི་མཆོད་པ་འབྲུལ་འདྲ།

455 Resembling offerings of clean water.

456 གནས་ལྷག་གི་དགོན་པ་བཞེངས་མཁན།

456 The one who built that monastery,

457 སོ་ཐར་གྱི་ཐོས་པ་དྲོམ་མཁན།

457 The one who took self-liberating vows,

458 ཆོས་དགེ་བ་ཉམས་ལེན་བྱེད་མཁན།

458 The one who practiced the virtuous dharma,

459 ཆེ་འདི་ཕྱི་ཤི་སྐབས་གནས་ཉན་མཁན།

459 The one who listens during this life and the next,

460 རྣལ་མཐོང་ན་མཐོ་རིས་འདྲེན་མཁན།

460 The one who leads you to higher realms when you see his face.

461 ལྷག་འཚལ་ན་ཐུག་སྐྱབ་སེལ་མཁན།

461 The one who purifies iniquities when you prostrate to him,

462 མཆོན་བརྟེན་ན་ལྷ་ཡུལ་མཐོང་མཁན།

462 The one who leads you to Heaven when you say his name,

463 ཞིང་བདེ་བ་ཅན་ལ་འདྲེན་མཁན།

463 And the one who leads you to the virtuous land

464 དེ་བཞག་ན་གསང་ཐུགས་བདེ་ཆེན་རེད་ཟེར་གྱུ་རེད།

464 You should say that it is, for

example, Gsang sngags bde chen.

465 ཡུ་དྲུག་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་མེད་གི་བསྟོན་པ་ན་མ་གསུམ་
ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

466 ཤར་ན་དཔོན་རི་ལྷོག་པོ་དགུང་ལ་བྱུག་འདྲ་འདི།

467 ཤར་གྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷོག་དར་མ་དགུང་ལ་འཕྱོང་འདྲ།

468 ལྷ་འབའ་ཆོད་རི་དཀར་པོ་འདི།

469 ལྷ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་ཐོན་མོ་ཆར་གྱིས་བང་འདྲ།

470 ལྷ་བ་དགེ་འདུལ་དབང་ལྷོག་གི་རི་རྒྱད་འདི།

471 ལྷ་དམར་བོའི་མཆུ་ཏྲ་ཆུ་ལ་བྱུག་འདྲ།

472 ལྷ་བྱང་བྱེ་མའི་རི་རྒྱད་མཐོན་པོ་འདི།

473 ལྷ་བྱང་རྩམ་ལ་མེར་བོ་གསེར་གྱིས་བྱུག་འདྲ།

474 གཡམས་ན་མ་རྩ་ཐོན་མོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་བཟུར་འདྲ།

475 གཡོན་ན་གུ་མ་རྩ་གཙང་བོ་ལྷུལ་ནག་རྒྱུག་འདྲ།

476 འདབས་ན་ས་ཞིང་འབྲུ་དུག་གི་མཛུལ་འབྲུལ་འདྲ།

477 མདུན་དུ་ནགས་རྒྱ་མོང་གི་རྩ་ལྷོག་འཐེབས་འདྲ།

478 རྒྱེད་ན་ལམ་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡལ་བ་འཐེན་འདྲ།

479 རྒྱབ་རི་མེ་རི་འབར་བའི་ཆེ་མོ་ན།

480 རྒྱུས་རྩ་བན་རི་མཐོན་པོའི་གསེར་མཁར་འདི།

481 ལྷ་བྱ་རྩལ་ལྷུང་ཆེན་དགུང་ལ་འཕྱར་འདྲ།

465 *Ya! Now I speak the praises of
Dus gsum sangs rgyas gling:*

466 *In the east, this tall gray mountain
that pierces the sky*

467 *Is like the strong eastern tiger that
pounces in the sky;*

468 *This southern wool-white conch
mountain*

469 *Is like the southern turquoise blue
dragon soaked by rain;*

470 *This western mountain range of
Dgra 'dul dbang phyug*

471 *Is like a red bird's beak submerged
in water;*

472 *This tall northern sandy mountain
range,*

473 *Is like the northern yellow
tortoise, rubbed with gold.*

474 *To the right, the blue Yellow River
flows like a turquoise dragon.*

475 *To the left, the clean stream winds
like a black snake.*

476 *Nearby, the fields are like a
completed mandala of all kinds of
grain.*

477 *In front, the forest is dense like
southern fog.*

478 *In the center, the road extends
like a white silk sash.*

479 *On the peak of the blazing
rearward mountain,*

480 *This golden fortress of the Birth
Deity Ban rim mthon po,*

481 *Is like a great garuda flying in the
sky.*

482 དེའི་མདུན་ན་ས་གཡང་བྱང་འདྲ་བའི་ཕྱེ་བ།

483 ཆོས་འབྱུང་བསྐྱེད་མ་གསུམ་བརྟེན་གྱི་རྟེང་ན།

484 བྱུ་ཁང་བཟང་འི་རྒྱལ་རྩུན་པོའི་བརྟེན་སྡུག་ལ།

485 རང་བཟང་མདོག་དཔལ་གྱི་ཕ་བང་།

486 དབུས་ན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རྣམ་པར་བྱོན།

487 གཡས་ན་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ།

488 གཡོན་ན་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས།

489 མདུན་ན་ཁ་ཁྲ་མེད་ཐེག་ཆེན་གསང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུག་པ།

490 མི་དང་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ལུས་བསྐྱིབས་ཉི་མས་བ་མ་ཁྱེད་ལ།

491 རྒྱུན་ནང་ཕྱག་མེད་པས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།

492 སེམས་ཐུག་བསམ་མེད་པས་ཆེད་རིག་དང་ལྷ་གར་གྱི་རྩུ་
རྩུན་པ།

493 ས་སྦྱིད་གསུམ་འདི་འཛུམས་པ་སྟོ་མེ་ནུ་ན་ཡིན་ཟེར་རྒྱ་
རེད།

494 ཡུ་ཨ་ཁུ་དཔོན་པོའི་བསྟོད་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

495 དཔོན་ཆེན་པོས་གནམ་ས་ཁ་ལེབ།

496 ཉག་དམར་པོ་དགུང་གི་ཉི་ཟླ།

497 རྩུ་ཐོན་པོ་མ་བྱ་གསུམ་བརྟེན་ས།

498 གོས་འབྲུག་མ་འཇའ་ཆེན་ལྷ་ལ།

499 གསུང་རྩུན་མོ་བྱ་རྒྱལ་ཁུ་བྲུག།

482 In front of that there is a village
that is like an auspicious swastika.

483 On the upper part of its holy area,

484 With an outer room built like Mt.
Tise,

485 There is a copper-colored fortress.

486 In the center is Padmashambhava
himself.

487 To his right are the lords of the
three families.

488 To his left are the Buddhas of the
three times.

489 In front of him, voices sound the
dharma of the supreme Mahayanist
secret tantras.

490 The bodies of the faithful are like
a sun melting the frost:

491 They rise like a happy sun, without
adversity and sickness,

492 And enjoy the sounds of singing
and playing without suffering.

493 One should say that the place
where three happy things are
gathered is Ne'u na in Sgo me.

494 Ya! Now I speak the praises of the
tantric practitioners:

495 The great practitioner controls the
weather and the earth:

496 The sun and moon in the red sky.

497 [His] blue feathers are as bright as
the plumage of three peacocks,

498 [His] dragon robes are as bright
as a rainbow,

499 [His] voice is as pleasant as a
cuckoo's,

500 དཔལ་བསོད་ནམས་བར་སྒྲིབ་དཀར།

501 ལྷ་མོ་པ་དབྱར་གསུམ་ཆར་བ།

502 ང་གནག་ན་གཤིན་རྩེ་འཛིགས་པ།

503 གསུང་འབྱོན་ན་སྤུ་ཐེ་འཆུམ་ནོ།

504 བཅན་པོའི་ཁ་གཙོན།

505 གཉོན་རྩེ་གི་རྒྱབ་རོགས་བྱེད་མཁན་ཨ་ཁུ་དཔོན་པོ་རེད་
ཟེར་རྒྱ་རེད།

506 ཡུལ་སྒྲོ་མེ་ཆོ་བཞིའི་བསྟོད་པ་ནམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།

507 མདའ་ལི་མ་རྒྱུ་སྒྲོ་བཞི་བསྟོད་བྱས་འདྲ།

508 གཞུ་མཚན་དཀར་ཟངས་སྒྲིབ་བཞི་རྒྱས་བྱས་འདྲ།

509 ལྷག་པོ་དེད་པོ་སྒྲིབ་ནས།

510 ལྷག་པོ་ཐེག་པོ་འཛུམས་ཡོད།

511 མགོ་ར་བས་ར་དགུ་ཁེབ་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

512 སྒྲ་ར་བའི་སྟག་འདབས་རྒྱ་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

513 གདོན་རི་རབ་འདྲ་ཞིག་སེན་མོས་གཙུར་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

514 དག་སྒྲིབ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁེབ་གཙོན་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

515 བཅན་མ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱག་ལམ་འགོག་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

516 སྒྲའི་ཐུ་རི་མགོ་ནས་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།

517 གསེར་ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་གངས་རི་བཞུས་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

518 སྒྲའི་བྱ་ཕ་མགོ་ནས་སྒྲ་བ་ཆས་འདྲ།

500 [His] merit is like white clouds in the sky,

501 And [his] wealth is as abundant as summer rain.

502 When he frowns, Yama is afraid.

503 When he speaks, he pacifies the entire village.

504/505 And one should say that the one who subdues the violent, and who helps the lowly is the tantric practitioner.

506 Ya! Now I speak the praises of Sgo me's four clans

507 Like a bronze arrow fletched with four vulture feathers.

508 Like an excellent white bow strung with twined copper wires,

509 After the cunning tigers were born,

510 They had already developed stripes.

511 There were some with long braids,

512 And there were some who tied their braids at the end.

513 There were some who squashed mountainous devils with their thumbnails,

514 There were some who controlled the two enemy *rakshas*,

515 And there were some who blocked the paths of the two *ma mo* demons

516 There were some like the bright sun above the morning mountain

517 Who melt the snowy mountain with the golden sun's light.

518 There are some like the waxing

519 ལྷ་ཆུ་བའི་འདྲ་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་བ་སེལ་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

520 ཡོབ་ཆེན་ནང་དུ་སྐར་ཆེན་ཤར་འད།

521 སྐར་ཆོགས་འདྲ་བའི་བྱ་ཆ་རྒྱས་ནི་ཡོད་པ།

522 ཐང་ཐུང་དཀར་ཁ་ཡ་རྟ་ཡིས་བཀང་གི།

523 རྩ་གོར་མའི་ན་ལུང་རྩོར་གྱིས་བཀང་གི།

524 རི་མཐོན་པོའི་རི་ཤོད་ལུག་གིས་བཀང་གི།

525 ཆོས་ཡོད་མེད་དབྱས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ནས་གོ་ཡོད།

526 རྒྱ་ཡོད་མེད་རྒྱ་ནག་མཐེལ་ནས་གོ་ཡོད།

527 གཏམ་ཡོད་མེད་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ནས་གོ་ཡོད།

528 བཤད་མི་དགོས་གླིང་ལ་གྲགས་ཡོད།

529 ཡུད་དེ་རིང་ཆོ་བཟའ་བ་རི་རབ་ལས་བཞེད་ཆེ་གི།

530 ལྷག་དམར་ཡག་ཡིན་ཡང་མཚོངས་དཀའ་གི།

531 བུང་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་གཉིང་ཐབ་གི།

532 ཉ་གསེར་མིག་ཡིན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་དཀའ་གི།

533 འཇའ་ཆོན་ལྷ་ཐུང་དཔའ་དར་འཐེན་ཡག་གི།

534 མགྲོན་ཆོགས་བསགས་ཅན་ཆོར་ཞབས་ཉྱག་བྱས་ན།

535 བྲལ་ཤིས་དང་སྦོན་ལམ་འབྲུབ་གི།

moon above the evening mountain,
519 Who expel darkness with the
conch shell moon's light.

520 Ther are some who rise like bright
stars among the elders,
521 Whose children multiply like the
stars of heaven.

522 The upper part of the white-
flowered grassland is full of horses,
523 The middle part of the grassy
valley is filled with yaks.

524 And the bottom of the high
mountains is filled with sheep.

525 [We] hear about the existence of
the dharma in Dbus gtsang,

526 [We] hear about the existence of
wealth in China,

527 [We] hear about the existence of
speeches in A mdo,

528 [We] do not have to speak of this
because it is world-renowned.

529 Ya! Now today, foods are piled
higher than Mt. Meru,

530 And though the tigers are
courageous, they pounce with
difficulty.

531 The drinks are deeper than the
sea.

532 And though they are gold fish,
they swim with difficulty.

533 Rainbow-like prayer flags are
pulled taut.

534 If you pay respect to guests who
have accumulated merit,

535 Then auspiciousness and your
prayers will be attained.

536གན་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་ཚར་ཁ་སྐལ་དང་ཆང་སྐལ་བྱས་ན།

537ཁ་གཡང་དང་ཕྱ་གཡང་འབོད་གི།

538བྱ་གཞོན་པ་ནམས་ཚོས་ཅིང་རིག་དང་སྒྲ་གར་སྒངས་ན།

539མགོན་པོ་མོ་ནམས་ཚོའི་བྱགས་དབྱེས་གི།

540གན་པ་ནམས་ཚོའི་སྐྱ་ཆེ་བཏན་གྱ།

541གཞོན་པ་ནམ་ཚོའི་དཔའ་ཅལ་རྒྱས་གྱ།

542བྱ་ཚ་བོ་ནམས་ཚོར་འདབ་ལག་རྒྱས་གྱ།

543ད་སྐལ་བ་ལ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚུགས་གྱ།

544ནམ་ཕྱགས་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ལྟན་གྱ།

545གནས་མལ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གྱ།

546བདག་ཅག་ལ་སྐལ་བ་ལྡན་གྱ།

547ད་དེ་ཚེ་ལ་བྱགས་བཞད་མཛོད།

536If you compliment and toast the
elders who possess merit,

537Then prosperity and affluence will
be invited.

538If youths play, sing, and dance,

539Then male and female guests will
be greatly pleased.

540Elders will live longer.

541The youths' bravery will increase.

542The grandchildren will grow up.

543Now, their happiness will be
abundant.

544In the future, there will be a
Buddha.

545In one's dwelling there will be
auspiciousness,

546For us there will be good luck!

547Now, pay homage to these things!

GLOSSARY

- Line 1 *Om*, *a*, and *hUM* are each one syllable charms that may be used to elevate common speech to religious speech (see Ekvall 1964:115-118).
- Line 2 *Chos dbyings dag pa*, Dharmadhatu, is sometimes translated as the 'realm of truth' or 'realm of phenomena'. The term is translated as Dharmakaya 'body of truth' for those who have attained Buddhahood.
- Line 3 *Chos sku kun tu bzang po*, Dharmakaya Samantabhadra. *Kun tu bzang po* (Sskt: Samantabhadra) is a tantric deity. "He is termed the Primal Buddha in the Nyingmapa [*rnying ma pa*] tradition" (Samuel 1993:14). *Chos sku* may also be translated 'Dharma body', corresponding to Dharmakaya (Sskt).
- Line 5 *Lha longs sku thugs rje chen po*. This *Thugs rje chen po* 'the great compassionate one' is an alternative name for Avalokitesvara.
- Line 6 *Bya rgod phung po'i ri* is "Grdhrakuta in Sanskrit 'Vulture Hill of Magadha', a resort of S'akyamuni" (Das 1902:880).
- Line 7 *Bcom ldan rgyal ba shakya thub*, the Baghavan Sakyamuni, refers to the Buddha. Sakyamuni is the Sanskrit name of the historical Buddha.
- Line 9 *O rgyan pad+ma 'byung gnas*, Padmasambhava, also known as *O rgyan* and *Guru Rin po che*, "tamed the local gods and spirits of Tibet and bound them to the service of the Buddhist teachings" (Samuel 1993:19).
- Line 12 *Me ri'bar ba* 'blazing mountain' is the name of a buddhfield.
- Line 13 *Yi dam* are Buddhist meditational deities.
- Line 14 *G.yu lo bkod pa'i zhing khams* is the name of Tara's (T: *Sgrol ma*) buddhfield.
- Line 15 *Rje btsun 'phags ma sgrol ma 'Arya Tara'*. Tara (*Sgrol ma*) is a protective deity "whose help is engaged in order to avert various kinds of evil" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:388).
- Line 16 *Seng 'brug stag rtse pho brang* refers to the legendary fortress inhabited by King Gesar (Zhang 1985:2936).

- Line 17 Seng chen nor bu dgra 'dul is an epithet for the eponymous hero of the Tibetan epic, King Gesar of Gling. For introductions to King Gesar, see Kornman (1997:39-68).
- Line 18 The Malaya Mountains are a mountain range in India and are frequently referenced in Indic traditional literature.
- Line 19 Ma ha ka la is the Sanskrit from the Tibetan Nag po chen po, the wrathful aspect of Avalokitesvara. "Mahakalas are the chief dharmapalas, protectors of the Dharma" (Kunsang 2003:1485).
- Line 19 Lcam dral. The *dgra lha* and their sisters, the *sring mo*, are collectively known as the *lcam dral bzhi* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:324 n14).
- Line 21 Sman rgyal mo. *Sman* are a class of goddesses. Ma a ne may refer to Ma ne ne, the mother of King Gesar, who is often included as a *smān*. The queens of the *smān* (*smān kyi rgyal mo*) are an important subdivision of this class (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:200).
- Line 22 Sum cu rtsa gsum lha yul refers to "A heaven where gods who studied the dharma dwell" (Kornman 1997:48).
- Line 23 Tshangs pa dkar bo (Skt: Sita-Brahma). Tshangs pa is the Tibetan term for the Indic deity, Brahma. Brahma assumed the role of a Dharma-protector in Tibetan Buddhism.
- Line 24 *Klu*"correspond to the Sanskrit naga, 'serpents', and in general indicate the powers of the earth and of the waters on which the prosperity of agriculture is believed to depend" (Tucci 1980:222). Additionally, "in Bonpo belief, the first Tibetans were descended from subterranean water deities" (Stein 1972:243).
- Line 25 Gtsug na rin chen, the King of the naga.
- Line 27 Gter bdag gnyen po. Gter bdag are masters of hidden treasure teachings (Kunsang 2003:1057). This may be a reference to Gter bdag gnyan chen thang lha (see Nebeskey-Wojkowitz 1956:254)
- Line 29 *srung ma*'guardians', of which there are many classes (Nebeskey-Wojkowitz 1956:3). This speech specifically mentions guardians of the family lineage.

Line 31 *gros lha* are deities often associated with luck, fortune, and happiness.

Line 32 Houses in Ne'u na Village generally have a main room, with bedrooms and a kitchen adjoining the main room, which opens directly onto a yard enclosed by adobe walls.

Line 33 G.yang lha, Zas lha, and Gros lha are three deities of the class of the nine *dgra lha* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:331 n24, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976, 2007:105).

Line 33 The Tibetan term *zas* refers to both foods and drinks.

Line 35 Pho lha is a protective deity associated with the masculine principle. Pho lha has its seat on the right shoulder of a person (Hummel 1974:6).

Line 35 *Dgra lha*. Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Tucci refer to the *dgra lha* as "enemy deities." The title

is usually given to those deities who are believed to be especially capable of protecting their worshippers against enemies, and to help them to increase their property (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:318).

We translate the term as 'warrior deities'. The warrior deity "has its seat at the top of the head" (Hummel 1974:6).

Line 43 *Gos 'khor gsum* refers to silk cloth with designs of three wheels.

Line 47 *Phug lha* are deities of the home "that control the... prosperity of the families" (Namkhai Norbu 1995:73).

Line 50 Thab lha 'Hearth Deity'.

Line 53 Sgo lha 'Door Deity'.

Line 57 Mo lha is a female protector who has her seat in the abdomen (Hummel 1974:6). It is unclear why the speech associates this with the left shoulder.

Line 58 Zhang lha refers to the maternal uncle's protective deity. The *a zhang* 'maternal uncle' is the most important person at a Tibetan wedding. His deity is accorded the greatest respect (Stein 1972:107-108).

Line 58 The groom stands on the right side and the bride stands on the left side. The *A zhang* 'maternal uncle', is the most

important person at a Tibetan wedding, and his deity is accorded the highest respect (Stein 1972:107-108). It should be noted that, elsewhere in Khri ka County, the *a zhang* may include any of the bride's male family members ('Brug mo skyid et al. 2010).

Line 66 A khu dpon refers to a *sngags pa*'tantric practitioner'. In many parts of A mdo, A khu dpon are consulted to choose an auspicious wedding date and recite *g.yang 'bod*, a text calling prosperity to the wedding occasion.

Line 67 Gong tshe is a deity consulted in astrology and divination (for more, see Namkhai Norbu 1995:151).

Line 70 '*Khor lo rtsibs brgyad* refer to the the eight spokes of the Dharma wheel representing the Eightfold Path: the Buddha's teaching for ending suffering: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.

Line 71 *Pad ma 'dab brgyad* refers to the eight-petalled lotus, a key symbol in Buddhist and Hindu iconography.

Line 73 *Sme ba lo skor* refers to the nine squares, a system used in Tibetan astrology. For more on this astrological practice, see Namkhai Norbu (1995:153-155).

Line 74 *Spar kha* is a transliteration of the Chinese term for the eight trigrams (Ch: *ba gua*) used in Chinese Taoist divination. For more on the practice of *spar kha*, see Namkhai Norbu (1995:152-153).

Line 76 According to Buddhist tradition, *brgya rtsa brgyad* '108' refers to the end of the 108 defilements.

Line 94 A *pha ma 'phur shes* is an elliptical hair ornament that is often made of silver and decorated with tiny pearls. It resembles a butterfly's colorful spotted wings.

Line 96 A *lu gu 'ba' shes* is a hair ornament as white as lamb fleece that features four or six holes. Children sometimes put strings through the holes, and use it to make noises by rapidly swinging it in a circle.

Line 100 Fox fur hats were popular in A mdo until a Buddhist teacher discouraged Tibetans from wearing animal furs in 2006 (see Yeh 2013).

Line 103 *Ri rgyal lhun po* 'Mt. Meru'/ 'Sumeru' is the axis of the universe in the Buddhist worldview. Above are the heavens from which extend the four continents.

Line 109 *Sgo dar* refers to a white silk *kha btags* hung on a door during a marriage.

Line 110 Wealthy families have a wide door with a two-piece curtain. White is the color of purity. At weddings, white door curtains are hung, or *kha btags* are tied, above the door.

Line 116 A Tibetan beer-like drink, traditionally homemade, but now is more frequently commercially purchased. In the context used here, it is more of a general term for alcohol.

Line 118 *Bsam yas* was a temple complex near Lhasa and was the first monastic Tibetan temple (Samuel 1993:50). It was built during the reign of King Khri srong lde btsan (755-797?) and consecrated after his death by Padmasambhava (Tucci 1980:5).

Line 142 *Bya rgyal khyung chen* refers to the garuda, a supernatural eagle-like bird that guards Mt. Meru. In the context of the wedding speech, it denotes a very important guest.

Line 162 *Stod* refers to Mnga' ris, the westernmost portion of Tibet.

Line 163 'Dzam bu gling is the Tibetan translation for the Sanskrit Jambudvipa, one of the four continents surrounding Mt. Meru in Tibetan Buddhist Cosmology

Line 165 *Mdo khams* refers to A mdo and Khams, two of the three major cultural regions of Tibet.

Line 165 *Zal mo* is one of the six ranges/ districts in Mdo khams.

Line 166 *Rgya gar rdo rje gdan* 'Bodghaya' is the place where the Buddhas of the three times (the past Buddhas; the present Buddha, Shakyamuni or Sha+kya thub pa; and future Buddha, Maitreya or Byams pa) attained enlightenment, and is thus an extremely auspicious place.

Line 169 *maNDala* 'mandala' are

symbolic replicas of the universe, as conceived by Buddhist cosmology, complete with *Ri Rabs* ("excellent mountain"), or Mt. Meru, in the center surrounded by the quarters of the earth, the continents, and the seas (Ekvall 1964:176-177).

For more on mandala, see Tucci (2001) and Stoddard (1999:169-213).

Line 169 *Bkra shis rdza brgyad* (also written *bkra shis brtags brgyad*) 'the Eight Auspicious Symbols', are the *gser nya* 'golden fish', *bum pa* 'treasure vase', *pad+ma* 'lotus flower', the *dpal be'u* 'endless knot', *chos 'khor* 'the Dharma-wheel', *rgyal mtshan* 'victory banner', *dung g.yas 'khyil* 'conch,' and *rin chen gdugs* 'umbrella'.

Line 174 Stag gzig 'tiger-leopard' is often used to refer to modern-day Iran.

The Bon religion of the royal period (seventh to ninth centuries) is said to have come from [stag gzig] via Shangshung [zhang zhung], and Shangshung is the probable source of other early components of Tibetan civilization (Samuel 1993:50).

Line 196 Stod 'upper' refers here to western Tibet, and particularly Mnga' ris.

Line 196 Dbus gtsang. Dbus and gtsang are two separate cultural regions of Tibet, but the two are commonly written together and may also be written Ü Tsang, referring to Central Tibet, including the major cities of Lha sa and Gzhis ka rtse.

Line 197 Smad 'low'/ 'lower part' as used here refers to the eastern Tibetan area of Kham.

Line 198 *Sku rgyal bod* is a colloquial term. It refers to A mdo, and sometimes to Tibetan areas more generally. In this speech and its juxtaposition with Dbus gtsang and Smad Khams, it appears to be a highly stylized way of referring specifically to regions in A mdo.

Line 200 Tshangs pa brgya byin refers to the Hindu deities, Brahma and Indra.

Line 200 Khyung gshog ldem ma is the daughter of Brahma and Indra. The name literally means 'crooked garuda's wing'. We were unable to find other references to this deity.

Line 203 *Lha srin sde brgyad* refers to the eight classes of deities and spirits. The members of the list vary, but generally include *gnyan*, *sa bdag*, *btsan*, *lha*, and *klu*. Samuel notes that these gods may "themselves be the objects of regular cult-offerings,

primarily by lay people" (1993:163). Additionally, Tucci (1980:247) notes that *gnyan*, *sa bdag*, *btsan*, and *klu* are associated with a domain of the world, i.e., air, earth, under the earth, and water.

Line 205 Smin drug refers to Pleiades, and also refers to one of the twenty-eight gods of the constellations.

Line 209 Phyag na rdo rje or Vajrapani is one of the *rigs gsum mgon po* 'lords of the three families' (see line 487). Vajrapani "is a fierce emanation of the Buddha and represents powerful and, if necessary, destructive action" (Samuel 1993:282).

Line 213 'Jam dbyangs or Manjusri is one of the *rigs gsum mgon po* 'lords of the three families' (see line 487).

Line 213 The *phyi dpon* 'outer manager' oversees seating arrangements.

Line 226 *Li ma* 'bronze' approximates the color of Tibetan barley beer. *Chu li ma* may refer to pure, clean water.

Line 227 Most Tibetans do not eat fish, however, Ne'u na villagers eat fish from the Yellow River under particular circumstances, such as a serious illness or when suffering from malnutrition. We have elsewhere heard of fish being considered efficacious for women having difficult pregnancies. Fish are also one of the Eight Auspicious Symbols, which may underscore the auspiciousness of this occasion.

Line 229 Gsal bo khye'u chung might refer to Khye'u chung lo tsA ba (one of the twenty-five disciples of Guru Rinpoche (see the entry for line 9).

Line 229 Thang 'ja' mo 'rainbow over the plain' is a reference we could not further identify.

Line 232 Lha sras btsan po probably refers to Srong btsan sgam po, who famously married the Nepalese Princess. For more on the custom of calling crown princes *lha sras*, see Stein (1972:51).

Line 233 Bal bza' khri lcam refers to the Nepalese princess, commonly referred to as Khri btsun or Bhrikuti Devi (Beyer 1973:5), who married Srong btsan sgam po.

Line 236 Zhang zhung was an ancient Tibetan kingdom where Bon flourished prior to Buddhism. Most scholars believe it was located in western Tibet.

- Line 237 Dran pa nam mkha' was a famous Bon scholar who lived during the eighth century (Tucci 1980:242; Tshering Thar 2008:539).
- Line 239 Tshe ring rig 'dzin may refer to Tshe dbang rig 'dzin, the son of Dran pa nam mkha' (see line 236). According to tradition, Dran pa nam mkha' "transmitted Tantric teachings" to Tshe dbang rig 'dzin (Kvaerne 1995:119).
- Line 241 Stong rgyung mthu chen may refer to the great Bon scholar, Stong rgyung mthu chen (see McKay 2003:102).
- Line 243 *Stong rgyal 'bum thub* is an epithet that singers often use to mean that they have won 1,000 competitions and can do 100,000 things, i.e., it refers to their great ability as singers.
- Line 245 Gangs dkar ti se 'Mt. Tise'/ 'Mt. Kailash', a famous holy mountain in western Tibet sacred to Hindus and Buddhists alike (Kunsang 2003:380).
- Line 246 Ma pham g.yu mtsho 'Manarasowar' is a freshwater lake Buddhists and Hindus consider a sacred pilgrimage site. It is 2,000 kilometers from Lhasa and near Mt. Kailash.
- Line 249 Dpyad bu khri shes was a famous Bonpo knowledgeable in medicine. His father is reputed to be Ston pa shes rab, the founder of Bon.
- Line 253 Kong jo is the Tibetan name for the Tang Dynasty Princess, Wencheng (d. 680), who built the Ramoche Temple (Stein 1972:58).
- Line 254 Gnam ri srong btsan (570?-629) was the thirty-second King of Tibet, and the father of Tibetan King Srong btsan sgam po.
- Line 255 Gong tse was the father of princess Wencheng, Emperor Tang Taizong (599-649), the founder of the Tang Dynasty (618-901).
- Line 256 Mgar stong btsan was a famous minister of King Srong btsan sgam po.
- Line 257 Srong btsan sgam po (613-649/650) was the thirty-third King of Tibet, and founder of the Tibetan empire. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Boddhisattva of Compassion, Avalokitesvara (Stein 1972:38).
- Line 259 Princess Wencheng was said to be an emanation of White Tara, or Rje brtsun Sgrol ma (Mukherji 1999:182).

Line 284 Gang+ga refers to the Ganges River in India.

Line 287 Hor is an oft-mentioned kingdom in Tibetan folklore associated with the Monguor (Tu, Hor pa).

Line 291 Gtsug lag khang refers to the main temple in Lhasa.

Line 295 '*Byung ba lnga* refers to the five elements - wood, fire, earth, metal, and water.

Line 303 Chos kyi 'khor lo (Sskt, Dharmacakra), the wheel of the dharma.

Line 306 *Ma Ni* is the short form for the six-syllable mantra of Avalokitesvara, oM ma Ni pad+me hUM.

Line 307 Stupa are reliquary structures. "In Tibet this takes the shape of small and tall masonry monuments of settled form crowned with the...emblem of the sun and moon" (Das 1902:438).

Line 310 Mang ra chu bo 'Mangra River' is near Ne'u na Village and a tributary of the Yellow River (T: Rma chu).

Line 320 *Da ru* refers to a small handheld drum. It features two beaters attached to strings and is used by monks.

Line 327 Great care is taken to ensure that the bottoms of the robes worn by the bride and groom are even at the bottom, particularly where the robe wraps around and there are two levels of hems to worry about.

Line 337 Dbus (see Dbus gtsang, line 196).

Line 337 Yellow-hat monks refers to the Dge lugs pa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

Line 346 *Nas sngon mo*, the barley is blue because it is planted in highland areas with a pure blue sky as background.

Line 398 *Gtor ma* are dough offerings of various shapes, sizes, and colors that are used for offerings, exorcisms, and divination (see Nebeskey-Wojkowitz 1956:347-354).

Line 399 *Bdud rtsi sman mchod* refers to "the nectar of immortality" (Kunsang 2003:1369) and often accompanies *gtor ma* offerings.

Line 400 dmar chen rak+ta 'bright red blood'. The combination with "the nectar of immortality" (line 399) is in keeping with Nebeskey-Wojkowitz's assertion that

a wrathful deity is given a *gtor ma* consisting of meat and bone, a libation of blood and bile, skull-drums and thigh-bone trumpets are played for its entertainment, etc., while a peaceful protector of religion is presented with such gifts as medicines, sweet and good-tasting food, fragrant incense, and pieces of silk (1956:343).

Line 401 *Dpe cha* refers to a Tibetan book that is generally long and narrow and traditionally printed from wood blocks.

Line 401 *Bka' rgyud* refers to the collected sayings of the Buddha. A set of the *Bka' rgyud* usually comprises 108 volumes.

Line 403 Dkon mchog gsum 'The Three Jewels - the Buddha, Dharma, and the Sangha (the body of monks).

Line 444 *Rta 'do ba* refers to an excellent horse.

Line 445 *Mdzo* are yak-cow hybrids. A 'white herd' emphasizes the purity and sanctity of the wedding occasion. The forehead must be white.

Line 449 Gsang sngags bde chen is both the name of a monastery, and the name of the territorial deity of that monastery. This section praises both the monastery and the deity, because of the excellent location. The temple is located in Stag lung Village, Laxiwa Town, Khri ka County.

Line 465 Dus gsum sangs rgyas gling refers to a monastery that was destroyed in Ne'u na Village during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Later, a *ma Ni khang* 'prayer hall' was built in the village and given the same name.

Line 466 A *dpon ri* is a mountain so high that it is the leader of other mountains.

Line 468 Ba' tshe dung may be a toponym. We were unable to identify it further.

Line 470 Dgra 'dul dbang phyug is the name of a mountain deity with a fierce face. *Dgra 'dul* are a class of Bon deities having a "bellicose nature" (Tucci 1980:218).

Line 480 Skyes lha ban ri mthon po: Skyes lhais the "deity of the area of one's birth, or birth deity" (Goldstein 2001:75). Ban ri mthon po is the name of this deity for this part of Ne'u na.

Line 482 *G.yung drung* refers to a swastika, an auspicious symbol of well-being. "[G].*yung drung*...is a technical term to indicate

Being in the *Bon* religion [italics in the original]" (Tucci 1980:68). In the context of this speech, its shape is most important.

Line 487 Rigs gsum mgon po refers to the lords of the three families, Manjusri, Avalokitesvara, and Vajrapani (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:86).

Line 489 Theg chen gsang sngags. *Theg chen* is the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit term 'Mahayana', which refers to the form of Buddhism emphasizing altruistic spiritual practice, embodied in the form of a Bodhisattva. The term *gsang sngags* literally means 'secret tantras'.

Line 501 In Tibetan areas of Qinghai, rain is heaviest during the summer months.

Line 502 Gshin rje refers to Yama, the Lord of Death, who was originally a Hindu deity.

Line 510 *Gsar bu stag 'dra 'dra* is a local saying that a man in his prime is like a tiger. In this village, people are said to be born strong like a tiger that already has its stripes.

Line 513 This action approximates the squashing of a louse, and speaks to the power of the tantric practitioners.

Line 514 *Srin po* are a class of demons that were originally native to Tibet, but have now been conflated with the Indian *raksas* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:280).

Line 515 *Btsan ma mo: ma mo* are female protective deities (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:6).

Line 529 Ri rab refers to Mt. Meru (see line 103).

Lines 529-532 These four lines suggest that the guests have eaten and drunk much of the prepared good food and beverages.

Line 542 When a child can use their arms and legs well, they are thought to be growing up and increasingly ready to participate in family labor.

Line 544 Sangs rgyas refers to Buddha.

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ORAL NARRATIVES FROM BANG SMAD: DEITIES, DEMONS,
BLA MA, AND LEADERS

COLLECTED AND TRANSLATED BY
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ABSTRACT

20 oral narratives from Bang smad Village, Nyag rong County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province are presented. Topics include historical figures, demons, *bla ma*, and deities.

KEYWORDS

Bang smad, Folktales, Mgon po rnam rgyal, Nyag rong

INTRODUCTION

Bkra shis bzang po collected these folktales from four elders in Bang smad Village, Nyag rong County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. The narratives cover a variety of topics including *bla ma*, local mountain deities, and historical figures such as nineteenth century Nyag rong king, Mgon po rnam rgyal.

CONSULTANTS

Dbal bzang (b. 1937) was the government-appointed village leader of Bang smad¹ in 1981. In 2001 he became ill, his left hand and foot were paralyzed, and he was bedridden for eight months. Since that time he has been unable to walk and must be carried up and down stairs, and to the toilet. During the daytime he is carried out to a small wooden room that is adjacent to his family home.

Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1945) is a *bla ma* at Mtsho kha Monastery. In 1953 he began studying Tibetan with his uncle. Several years later, he studied traditional Tibetan medicine with monastic doctors.

Tshe dbang (b. 1940) served as the government village leader in Bang smad Village for three years and worked as an accountant in the local township office for five years. He reads and writes Tibetan.

A lca (b. 1949-2011) was born in a Ri sne Village family that has had several incarnation *bla ma*. He was a renowned orator and was frequently invited by other villages on occasions when speeches were required. When I recorded him in 2009, he provided three different speeches in Nyag skad,² and six folktales in Mi nyag, including the stories of Mgon po rnam rgyal related below. In 2010, I made more

¹ Bang smad Township, Nyag rong County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. See Bkra shis bzang po (2012) for more on Bang smad. See Yudru Tsomo (2006) for more on Nyag rong.

² The Khams dialect spoken in Nyag rong is referred to locally as Nyag skad.

recordings of dance and folk songs and put them on-line here:

- <http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/bkrashis001.html>
<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/browse?type=author&value=Bkra+shis+bzang+po>

MOUNTAIN DEITIES

1. Making Storms³

When mountain deities need to repay grain to other mountain deities, they may send storms to destroy villagers' crops before harvest, and then use deer and other wild animals to collect the grain. Locals ask *bla ma* to chant scriptures to prevent such destructive storms. *Bla ma* chant over and blow on grain that they then scatter into the sky. This grain is considered empowered by the *bla ma's* breath and chanting.

If people see hair atop mountains after large storms, they believe they are deer hair, indicating that the *bla ma's* grains injured wild animals. People also find grains in the wounds of deer.

2. Kha ba lung ring⁴

Kha ba lung ring Mountain is approximately three kilometers northwest of Dkar mdzes County Town. A wealthy family once lived near there and stored much grain. Meanwhile, the deity, Kha ba lung ring needed to return grain he had borrowed from other mountain deities, but he had nothing with which to repay them. He appeared to the wealthy family and asked them to lend him some grain. He assured them he would return it as soon as he could, and the family agreed. Kha ba lung ring told them he would come that night to

³ Dbal bzang.

⁴ Dbal bzang.

transport the grain. "Please leave your grain box open. When I collect the grain there will be many odd sounds, but don't be afraid and don't say anything," he said.

Kha ba lung ring came to transport the grain in the middle of the night. The family heard many horses and other strange sounds, but said nothing, and the next day the family saw that their granary was empty.

Several years later, a storm destroyed all the villagers' crops. The next day, Kha ba lung ring visited the family that had helped him and said, "Now I will return your grain. Please open your granary so I can return your grain tonight. You will hear many strange sounds, but don't say anything." In the middle of the night, they heard many strange sounds and said nothing.

The next morning, the father sent the daughter to look in the grain box. When she looked at the box, she saw that it was overflowing. She also saw a golden flower atop the grain. She excitedly reached out and touched the golden flower, which then fell on the floor and shattered. That golden flower was a magical gift from Kha ba lung ring and, had she not shattered the golden flower, the family would have become even richer than before.

The daughter went missing that afternoon. The family searched for her for many days, but could not find her. Kha ba lung ring had kidnapped her as punishment for shattering the golden flower. He asked her to milk his wild animals everyday, which kept her constantly busy. Kha ba lung ring also told her to divide the food villagers offered him.⁵ They ate the best food themselves, the mid-quality food was put on his table and offered to other deities, and the worst food was put under the table and offered to ghosts and *yi dwags* 'hungry ghosts'. She often saw many mountains deities coming to Kha ba lung ring's home when people made *bsang*.⁶

She stayed with Kha ba lung ring for thirteen years and, during that time, her mother constantly worried about her. Kha ba lung ring often saw the mother fretting. She nearly died from stress

⁵ It is believed that mountain deities consume food that is burned as offerings to them.

⁶ Incense offerings.

and worry. The girl's father frequently made offerings to Kha ba lung ring and asked him to help find his daughter.

One day, Kha ba lung ring gave three pieces of gold to the daughter - one for herself, one for her mother, and one for her father - and then sent her home. Her parents were overjoyed, her mother's health improved, and her parents used the gold to make themselves happy. The daughter told all the villagers to offer the best things they could to Kha ba lung ring. She later married a man from a very rich family and had a joyful life.

3. G.yung drung spun dgu⁷

G.yung drung spun dgu is a nine-peaked mountain north of Bang smad Village. Local residents consider the peaks to be nine brothers. The *bsang* scripture for G.yung drung spun dgu states that the mountains evolved from *btsan*⁸ spirits. The nine brothers ride different wild animals, hold different weapons, and wear distinct armor. Next to G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain is Sman btsun le'u sman, G.yung drung spun dgu's wife. Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain is located southeast of Bang smad Village.

Sman btsun le'u sman is G.yar ri seng ge Mountain's sister, who eloped with G.yung drung spun dgu. When it was night, G.yar ri seng ge sent all his warriors to look for his sister. Sunrise came while they were searching for Sman btsun le'u sman, which turned all the warriors to trees. This explains the tall trees at the foot of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain. After G.yung drung spun dgu and Sman btsun le'u sman married, G.yar ri seng ge gave some *be lo*⁹ trees as a trousseau to Sman btsun le'u sman. *Be lo* trees now grow among pines on the slopes of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain.

⁷ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.

⁸ *Btsan* are spirit beings who follow their leader, *Btsan rgod* 'bar ba nag po, and have their own *btsan lam* 'btsan path'. Building a house on a *btsan lam* or otherwise blocking or disturbing it results in *btsan* retaliating by harming people with their *btsan mda* 'btsan arrow'.

⁹ *Be lo* are small white-timbered evergreen trees with hard wood that is often used to make handles for tools such as axes and mattocks.

4. A Sacred Stone¹⁰

A large stone in Bang smad Valley is considered to be G.yung drung spun dgu's horse. Beside it is a small stone shaped like butter sewn in a skin, which villagers call Lhu rdzung da bi in Mi nyag. Atop that small stone is a gap that looks as if a piece of butter had been cut out. Villagers believe that G.yung drung spun dgu cut out that piece of butter to offer it in *bsang*. Locals also believe that rocking that stone and repeating its name prevents them from losing their livestock, thus villagers do this whenever they pass by.

When Nor bu bzang po was a child, he played near Lhu rdzung da bi and accidentally broke a small piece off it. He married years later. One day, his wife went to that valley to collect wood. While returning to the village, she stumbled in front of Lhu rdzung da bi and hurt her leg. By the time she got home, her wound had already become infected. As each day passed, she became more ill. Her husband asked many *bla ma*, who explained that it was because of his actions when he was young. Nor bu bzang po then made many offerings to Lhu rdzung da bi but to no avail. His wife died.

BLA MA

1. Small Shrines¹¹

Long ago, a high-ranking Bon¹² *bla ma* named Dar ri sbyin pa rgyal mthshan lived at a hermitage in Pur pa'i Village for many years. Before passing away, he announced that he wanted all his body parts to be dispersed after his death in order to benefit everyone in Nyag rong. Consequently, all his body parts were spread by an eagle after he died.

Most villages in Nyag rong County have a small shrine full of

¹⁰ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.

¹¹ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.

¹² Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.

*tshwa tshwa*¹³ and *ma Ni* stones, and believe that each small room contains a part of Dar ri sbyin pa rgyal mthsan's body. Villagers believe that some of Dar ri sbyin pa rgyal mthsan's hair is in Bang smad Village's shrine, which they call A ku me, because villagers chant the Bon mantra, *A ku me du tri su nag po zhi zhi mal mal swa ha* as they circumambulate. Stong ra Villagers¹⁴ believe one of Dar ri sbyin pa rgyal mthsan's finger bones is in their shrine. In certain Nyag rong locations, villagers circumambulate a tree instead of a shrine, believing that the body part is buried under the tree.

When suffering from toothaches, lumbago, or headaches, people believe that circumambulating the relic and chanting "*A ku me du tri su nag po zhi zhi mal mal swa ha*," will cure them. Villagers believe a spirit owner for each small shrine herds sheep during the day, and only inhabits the shrine at night. Therefore, villagers only circumambulate such shrines at night. They go to bed after circumambulating, believing that their sickness will be cured when they wake.

BTSAN

Locals believe that *btsan* originate when people are murdered or die in anger. Murder victims may eat black and white stones or earth before they die, and then their spirit becomes a *btsan* that may take revenge on their killer. Villagers believe that *btsan* have fixed paths called *btsan lam* '*btsan* ways', have *btsan mda* '*btsan* arrows', and ride swift *btsan rta dmar po* '*red btsan* horses'.

Btsan shoot arrows at those who build houses on or block their *btsan lam*. This inflicts disease on people and livestock. Care is taken with children when crossing mountain passes because it is believed that they may easily meet and be harmed by *btsan* in such places. If livestock suddenly collapse, this is believed to have been caused by *btsan*. Villagers then burn incense and fumigate the

¹³ *Tshwa tshwa* are made from stamped clay and depict, scriptural texts, or images of the Buddha, and also often contain ashes of a cremated corpse.

¹⁴ Stong ra Village is located in Bang smad Township.

livestock with the incense, believing this will release them from the *btsan*'s curse.

1. A *Btsan* Tale I¹⁵

Two ferrymen were beside the Nyag chu River one day. Not many people were crossing the river, so the two boatmen retired for the day and made noodles for supper. Suddenly, they heard people calling from the other side of the river to send a boat for them. One boatman took a boat to the other side of the river, while the other continued cooking noodles.

When that boatman reached the other side of the river, a *btsan* asked him to mount his horses behind him. The boatman did not realize who he was and so mounted the horse. He blinked, and when he opened his eyes, he found himself in a very strange place. He saw a sick old woman inside a room. Little did the boatman know that the *btsan* wanted to take that woman's life. However, a *bla ma* sat by and protected her. The *btsan* went over to the sick woman, but returned empty-handed, and said to the boatman, "There is a very large venomous snake in front of that *bla ma*. I can't go near."

The *btsan* asked the boatman to take a look. The boatman went over and saw only a string of prayer beads in front of the *bla ma*. The *bla ma* said, "Where are you going? Why did you come here?"

The boatman told everything to the *bla ma*, who replied, "He's a *btsan*. You are very far from Nyag rong. You should return to your place with him, otherwise you'll not be able to return home in this life. I will help you. Secretly take my prayer beads with you. When you reach your home place, put them on the *btsan*'s head and he will vanish. But be careful! His horse may sense my prayer beads and refuse to let you ride him." The *bla ma* then gave his prayer beads to the boatman.

The boatman returned and said to the *btsan*, "Yes, there is a very dangerous snake in front of the *bla ma*. We should leave now."

¹⁵ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan

As they tried to leave, however, the *btsan's* horse sensed the prayer beads and refused to let the boatman mount. Eventually, however, the boatman got on the horse. He blinked and when he reached the Nyag chu River, he secretly put the prayer beads on the *btsan's* head. The *btsan* vanished with a loud sound. Later, no *btsan* disturbed him.

Villagers believe *btsan* can also help and protect them, and they make offerings to *btsan* before building a new house or when someone falls seriously ill. The ritual for making offerings to *btsan* is called *btsan mchod* 'btsan offering'. Roasted barley is offered to *btsan* during this ritual. This is considered equivalent to offering thousands of livestock to the *btsan*.

2. A *Btsan* Tale II¹⁶

Long ago, a *btsan* went to ask Rdzogs chen rin po che¹⁷ about undertaking a journey, "A myes chos grags¹⁸ is holding a *btsan mchod* in Chab mdo. Will I receive anything if I go there?"

Rdzogs chen rin po che replied, "You will receive something." Then the *btsan* went to Cha mdo.

When the *btsan* returned, he called to Rdzogs chen rin po che from a distance, "Rdzogs chen rin po che, I got a yak from A myes chos grags."

"Please come here and show me what you got from A myes chos grags," Rdzogs chen rin po che replied. Then the *btsan* opened his hand and showed a piece of roasted barley to Rdzogs chen rin po che.

¹⁶ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan

¹⁷ Rdzogs chen rin po che was a famous *bla ma* in Rdzogs chen Monastery who was especially well-known for recognizing reincarnation *bla ma*.

¹⁸ A myes chos grags is an unknown monk.

MGON PO RNAM RGYAL¹⁹

Born into an ordinary family, Mgon po rnam rgyal's parents²⁰ were not very powerful, however, he later became very powerful. He summoned all the Nyag rong people to help him build his nine-floored palace in Spang ri Village in the Nyag stod 'Upper Nyag rong' region. Workers who rammed earth walls were forced to use their own butter on the surface of the walls to make them look better. Mgon po rnam rgyal fiercely punished anyone who refused. The walls were about three meters wide.²¹ He made all brave local men become his soldiers, and expelled timid men.

1. Mgon po rnam rgyal and Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul²² I

Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul was a famous *bla ma* in Nyag rong at that time. Mgon po rnam rgyal followed Nyag bla ma bdud 'dul, but did not have complete faith in him. One day, Mgon po rnam rgyal sent a soldier to order Nag bla pad ma bdud 'dul to reach his palace that night, but as the invitation arrived late in the day, it was very challenging for the *bla ma* to arrive at Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace that night if he traveled on foot. Consequently, he went to his mountain deity and asked for a yak, which he rode to Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

After the *bla ma* arrived, Mgon po rnam rgyal decided to test him, and said to Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul, "Please show me your power. If you can catch a dragon, I'll follow you."

Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul then caught a dragon, which writhed and roared in his arms.

¹⁹ Stories one to six provided by A lca (b. 1949-2011). See Yudru Tsomo (2006) and Tashi Tsering (1985) for more on Mgon po rnam rgyal.

²⁰ Mgon po rnam rgyal's great grandfather was Ri nan dpal mgon. His son, Mgon po tshe brtan, fathered Nor bu tshe ring, Mgon po rnam rgyal's father.

²¹ The usual width of a rammed earth wall is about one meter.

²² Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul (1816-1872) was born in the Khang tshig Family and a famous *bla ma* in the Nyag rong region. For more see Aguillar (2005), and <http://tinyurl.com/z2kl63v>, accessed 9 August 2011.

Mgon po rnam rgyal was frightened and said, "That's enough, please release it."

2. Mgon po rnam rgyal and Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul II

Mgon po rnam rgyal asked Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul to go with him to circumambulate Shang lang brag dkar.²³ On the way Mgon po rnam rgyal said, "If you can climb this boulder, it means you are powerful, and I will respect you."

Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul easily climbed the boulder. This frightened Mgon po rnam rgyal, who said, "That's enough, please come down."

Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul said, "From now on you will go below, and I will go above."

Nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul's footprints can still be seen on that boulder.

3. Mgon po rnam rgyal's Mistrust of Wealthy Families

Mgon po rnam rgyal swiftly destroyed families that were becoming wealthy or powerful. He had two sons and two daughters. One daughter married into the wealthy Pha rda Family. The family's wealth and power began increasing, and Mgon po rnam rgyal's daughter knew that her father would destroy them if they became too rich. She then went to her father and said, "The Pha rda Family always mistreats me."

Mgon po rnam rgyal said, "That's good to hear. I was planning to destroy that family in seven days." The daughter immediately returned home and told them her father's plan. They fled from the village. Seven days later Mgon po rnam rgyal sent soldiers to destroy the Pha rda Family, but they had already escaped and only their

²³ Shang lang brag dkar is a sacred mountain located in Shang lang Township, Nyag rong County. It is one of the three most famous mountains in the Nyag rong region.

house remained.

4. Mgon po rnam rgyal Murders Infants

Mgon po rnam rgyal was said to have fed much milk to infants and thrown them from the ninth floor of his palace onto the ground. The infants burst and he laughed in delight, saying, "How very nice!" He enjoyed watching this very much. People believed that he was the embodiment of a half god and half *bdud* 'demon'.

5. Mgon po rnam rgyal has Conflicts with Monasteries

Mgon po rnam rgyal began having conflicts with certain local monasteries, and destroyed several. Once, when his soldiers destroyed Gyon 'gyon Monastery, a soldier named Gzun 'bam left his hat there. Monks in Gyon 'gyon Monastery cursed it. After he retrieved his hat, Gzun 'bam's family members fell ill and had few descendants. Today, this family goes to Gyon 'gyon Monastery every year to ask forgiveness for their ancestor's actions and thus ensure the family's well being.

6. Mgon po rnam rgyal Fights with his People

Mgon po rnam rgyal began quarreling and fighting with his own people, local monasteries, and even some of his soldiers. A mkhyogs lu'i was his best soldier, but he disliked Mgon po rnam rgyal and wrote a letter to the Tibetan Government in Lha sa that said, "Will you bring that Rdo ring²⁴ to us or should we come to you and take it?" and put a piece of dog feces in with the letter.

The letter infuriated Tibetan government officials. They consulted their fortuneteller, who recommended that they make a

²⁴ Rdo ring are inscribed steles displaying local rulers' entitlement to a given territory.

Mgon po rnam rgyal image, and ask many people and monks to prostrate to it to diminish Mgon po rnam rgyal's *bsod nams*.²⁵ Many people and monks prostrated to the statue for six or seven days, and then the fortuneteller said, "You can go now, but take care. If he is wearing '*phrug*',²⁶ you won't be able to kill him, but if he is wearing *tsha ru*²⁷ you will."

The Tibetan Government then sent an army to Spang ri to attack Mgon po rnam rgyal. First, the Tibetan Government and Mgon po rnam rgyal were to have a discussion. Mgon po rnam rgyal's oldest son asked, "Father, what should I wear?"

Mgon po rnam rgyal answered, "You should wear your best clothes in front of the Tibetan Government. Wear *tsha ru* inside and '*phrug*' outside, and put on all of your ornaments." Then the oldest son went to meet the Tibetan Government. After a brief discussion, they quickly began fighting, but with only ten soldiers the oldest son could not defeat the Lha sa army. He called to his father from a distance, "Escape! Burn the house!" Then Mgon po rnam rgyal and his son escaped on horseback. While crossing a river, both Mgon po rnam rgyal and his son fell from their horses and drowned. The Tibetan Government then killed all of Mgon po rnam rgyal's soldiers and occupied Nyag rong.

7. Stopping Crows²⁸

Two families were assigned the task of stopping crows flying above Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace. These families shot any crow that came near Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

²⁵ Locals believe that prostrating to a person diminishes their *bsod nams* 'luck'.

²⁶ A type of fine woolen cloth.

²⁷ Clothing made from lambskin.

²⁸ O rgan dbang phyug.

8. Telling Mgon po rnam rgyal to Eat Shit²⁹

Two men bet on who was brave enough to say, "Eat shit," to Mgon po rnam rgyal. The first man said that he was brave enough.

The second man then promised to give him his horse, gun, and knife if he did. Then, they very politely entered Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace and went to see Mgon po rnam rgyal.

The first man said very quickly, "A mgon³⁰ *lags, lca pa za*."³¹

Mgon po rnam rgyal asked, "What did you say?"

The man was very politely said, "Lcags po³² *ri la skor ba 'gro na dga' mkhan red na*?"³³

Mgon po rnam rgyal replied, "Of course! It's very good to circumambulate Lca po Mountain."

Thus the first man successfully tricked Mgon po rnam rgyal and thus won his friend's knife, horse, and gun.

9. Mgon po rnam rgyal Rewards Flatterers³⁴

Mgon po rnam rgyal liked and rewarded people who flattered him. One day, he announced that any man whose horse had a tail was required to join a horse race.³⁵ There was a very skilled horse rider in upper Nyag rong who did not want to participate in the horse race, so he cut off his horse's tail. Mgon po rnam rgyal then sent a soldier to bring this man to his palace for punishment.

When he came to the palace, Mgon po rnam rgyal angrily demanded, "Why didn't you come to the horse race?"

The man replied, "You said that every man whose horse has a tail should come, but my horse doesn't have a tail. I also had no good

²⁹ O rgan dbang phyug.

³⁰ A mgon is a short, respectful term of address for Mgon po rnam rgyal.

³¹ "Dear A mgon, eat shit."

³² A sacred mountain in Tibet.

³³ "Is it good to circumambulate Lcags po Mountain?" sounds very similar to, "Dear A mgon, eat shit," in Tibetan.

³⁴ Tshe dbang.

³⁵ "Every man whose horse has a tail" is a standard, metaphorical way of saying "everyone."

clothes to wear. You are a great man and I didn't want your reputation to suffer, so I stayed at home."

This flattery delighted Mgon po rnam rgyal, who then rewarded the man with a new horse and fine clothes.

10. Mgon po rnam rgyal Drinks *Chu drung*³⁶

Mgon po rnam rgyal and his *blon po* 'ministers' went to fight in Li thang.³⁷ The journey home was very long, and Mgon po rnam rgyal got very hungry. He drank a bowl of *chu drung*³⁸ in 'Dri ma chu thung,³⁹ and found it to be very delicious. When he arrived at his palace, he drank *chu drung* again, but found it less tasty than what he had drunk on his return home. He thought it must be the water, and then sent one of his chancellors back to 'Dri ma chu thung to fetch water. When he drank *chu drung* with water from 'Dri ma chu thung, it was still not as tasty as before, and he became angry. He didn't realize that what had made the *chu drung* tasty was his hunger on that long trip.

11. Mgon po rnam rgyal Barks Like a Dog⁴⁰

Two men were arguing. The first man said he could make Mgon po rnam rgyal bark like a dog, while other man thought it was so impossible that he said, "If you can do that, I'll give you all my money." They then went to Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

The first man said, "A mgon, there is a very wonderful dog for sale."

Mgon po rnam rgyal asked, "Tell me about this dog."

³⁶ Tshe dbang.

³⁷ Li thang is one of the eighteen counties of Dkra mdzes Prefecture.

³⁸ It is a simple meal consisting of a little *rtsam pa* in cold water. It is usually drunk when people have no cooking implements.

³⁹ This is a place name. It is part of Bang smad Township and located twenty miles southeast of Bang smad Village.

⁴⁰ Tshe dbang.

The man then began making very strange noises.

Mgon po rnam rgyal immediately came down from his throne, got on all fours, and said, "A good dog doesn't bark like that. It barks like this – Woof! Woof! "

Thus the first man made Mgon po rnam rgyal bark like a dog and won the bet.

12. Mgon po rnam rgyal Dislikes Blindness⁴¹

Mgon po rnam rgyal was blind in one eye, and as a result disliked any reference to blindness. One day he was relaxing atop his palace, and saw a man with a very nice horse in the distance heading towards him. He then ordered a soldier to steal the horse.

The soldier went out but, when he approached the rider, he found that he was one of his friends. Unable to rob his own friend, he let the man go and returned to Mgon po rnam rgyal.

Mgon po rnam rgyal asked, "Why didn't you bring that horse here to me?"

The man covered one of his eyes with his hand, meaning that horse was blind in one eye.

Mgon po rnam rgyal quickly replied, "OK, let's not talk about it."

13. A Horse With No Tail⁴²

Mgon po rnam rgyal announced that any man whose horse had a tail must join his army. However, there was one man whose horse had no tail. Mgon po rnam rgyal sent a soldier to fetch that man. When the man reached Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace, Mgon po rnam rgyal asked, "Why didn't you come join my army?"

The man said, "You announced that only men whose horses have tails need to come, but my horse has no tail. I worried that if I

⁴¹ Tshe dbang.

⁴² Tshe dbang.

brought such a horse, it would hurt your reputation, so I didn't come. You can check my horse if you like."

Mgon po rnam rgyal said, "No! We don't need to check." Thus the man was not punished and was not forced to join the army.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

Figure 1. G.yung drung spun dgu is east of Bang smad Village.

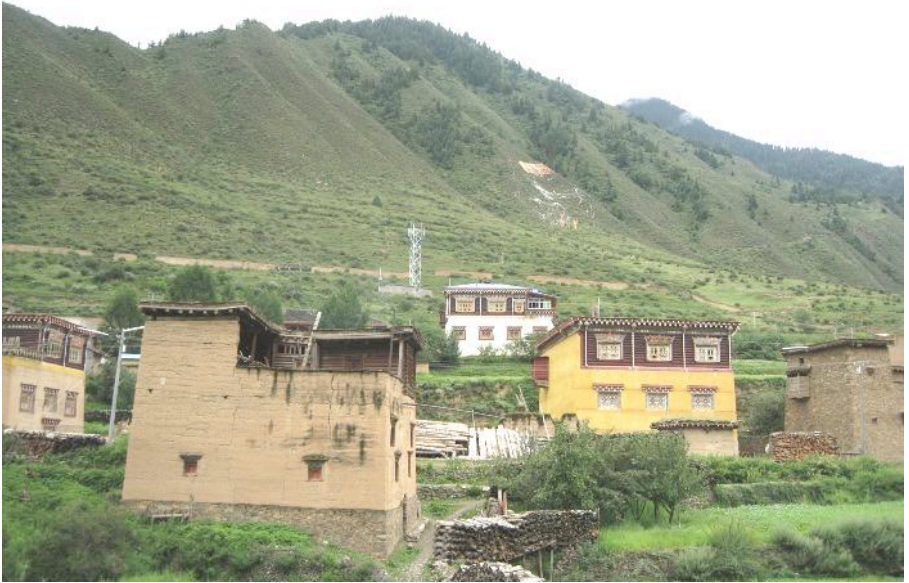


Figure 2. A ku me is in the west of Bang smad Village. Stone rooms full of *ma Ni* stones were once here. Nowadays, *ma Ni* stones are only visible around the shrubs in the center of the picture.



Figures 3 and 4. Lhu rdzung da bi is in Bang smad Valley.



Figure 5. Villagers make offerings to *klu* and ask for rain at a small stream among these trees.



Figure 6. Shang lang brag dkar Mountain: Mgon po rnam rgyal asked Nyag bla pad ma 'bdud 'dul to climb this mountain in order to demonstrate his power.



Figure 7. This house was for the Khwa srung family who fired rifles to stop crows flying above Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.



NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'dri ma chu thung འདྲི་མ་ཚུ་ཐུང་།
'phrug འཕྲུག་

A

a ku me ཨ་ཀུ་མེ།
a ku me du tri su nag po zhi zhi mal mal swa ha ཨ་ཀུ་མེ་དུ་ཏི་སུ་ནག་པོ་ཞི་ཞི་མཐཐ་མཐཐ་
མཐཐ་སྐྱ་ཏ།
a lca ཨ་ལ།
a mgon ཨ་མགོན།
a mgon lags, lca pa za ཨ་མགོན་ལགས་ལུ་པ་ཟ།
a mkhyogs lu'i ཨ་མཁྱེགས་ལུ་འི།
a myes chos grags ཨ་མྱེས་ཆོས་གྲགས།

B

bang smad བང་སྐད།
bdud བདུད།
be lo བེ་ལོ།
bkra shis bzang po བརྒྱ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ།
bla ma བླ་མ།
bon བོན།
bsang བསང་།
bsod nams བསོད་ནམས།
btsan བཅེན།
btsan lam བཅེན་ལམ།
btsan mchod བཅེན་མཆོད།
btsan mda' བཅེན་མདའ།
btsan rta dmar po བཅེན་རྟ་དམར་པོ།

C

chab mdo ཆབ་མདོ།
chu drung ཚུ་བྲུང་།

D

dar ri sbyin pa rgyal mthsan དར་རི་སྤྱིན་པ་རྒྱལ་མཆོན།
dbal bzang དབལ་བཟང་།
dkar mdzes དཀར་མཛེས།

G

g.yar ri seng ge གཡར་རི་སེང་གེ
 g.yung drung spun dgu གཡུང་རླུང་སྤུང་དགུ
 gyon 'gyon གྱོན་འགྱོན།
 gzun 'bam གཟུན་འབམ།

K

kha ba lung ring ཁ་བ་ལུང་རིང་།
 khang tshig ཁང་ཚིག་
 khwa srung ཁྱ་སྤུང་།

L

lca pa ལཱ་པ།
 lcags po ri la skor ba 'gro na dga' mkhan red na ལཱ་གས་པོ་རི་ལ་སྐོར་བ་འགོ་ན་
 དགའ་མཁན་རེད་ན།
 lha sa ལྷ་ས།
 lhu rdzung da bi ལྷ་རླུང་དཔེ།
 li thang ལེ་ཐང་།

M

ma Ni མ་ཌི།
 mgon po rnam rgyal མགོན་པོ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ།
 mgon po tshe brtan མགོན་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན།
 mi nyag མི་ཉག་
 mtsho kha མཚོ་ཁ།

N

nor bu bzang po རོར་བུ་བཟང་པོ།
 nor bu tshe ring རོར་བུ་ཚེ་རིང་།
 nyag bla pad ma bdud 'dul ཉག་བླ་པད་མ་བདུད་འདུལ།
 nyag chu ཉག་ཚུ།
 nyag rong ཉག་རོང་།
 nyag skad ཉག་སྐད།
 nyag stod ཉག་སྟོད།

P

pha rda པ་ར།
 pur pa'i པུར་པའི།

R

rdo ring རོ་རིང་།
 rdo rje rgyal mtshan རོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།
 rdzogs chen rin po che རྫོགས་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ།

ri nan dpal mgon རི་ནན་དཔལ་མགོན།
ri sne རི་སྒེ།
rtsam pa རྩམ་པ།

S

shang lang ཤང་ལང་།
shang lang brag dkar ཤང་ལང་བྲག་དཀར།
Sichuan 四川 (si khron སི་ཁྲོན།)
sman btsun le'u sman སྐན་བཙུན་ལེ་འུ་སྐན།
spang ri སྤང་རི།

T

tsha ru ཨ་རུ།
tshe dbang ཨ་དབང་།
tshwa tshwa ཨྲྀ་ཨྲྀ།

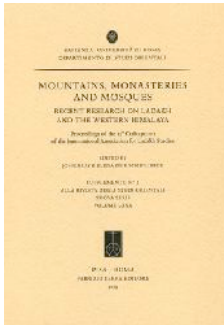
Y

yi dwags ཡི་དྲགས།

REVIEWS

REVIEW: MOUNTAINS, MONASTERIES AND MOSQUES

Reviewed by Bettina Zeisler (Universät Tübingen)



John Bray and Elena de Rossi Filibeck (eds). 2009. *Mountains, Monasteries and Mosques. Recent Research on Ladakh and the Western Himalaya. Proceedings of the 13th Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies.* Supplemento N° 2 alla Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, Nuova Serie, Volume LXXX. Pisa, Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore. Introduction (John Bray and Elena de Rossi Filibeck). 283pp, 2 maps, 45 illustrations. ISBN 978-88-6227-188-2, ISSN 0392-4866 (paperback, 245€).

Ladakh is famous among trekkers for her mountains and among other tourists also for her association with Tibetan Buddhism. Most visitors, however, neglect that half or more of the population follow a different religion, and hardly anybody comes to Ladakh specifically for her mosques. While the title of the volume under review is somewhat misleading – none of the articles deals specifically with monasteries or mosques, and only one, the last, with (sacred) mountains – it aptly highlights that Islam has become an essential part of Ladakhi culture, and cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, the volume is again heavily biased towards Buddhism and the middle class Ladakhi.¹ Only two of the fifteen articles deal with Islam, and a further one with a Muslim trader. In contrast, five articles engage with ritualistic aspects within the Buddhist fold, and a sixth with a Buddhist community. The remaining six articles, actually constituting

¹ One notices also other *lacunae* in ethnographic or anthropological research on Ladakh: the Brokpas or Dards of Lower Ladakh receive little or no attention, despite their 'exotic' customs and appearances, and the same holds for the low caste Mon and Beda communities, victims of social stigma, and the shadow existences of migrant labourers, victims of structural violence. For the latter, see Demenge (2009).

Zeisler, Bettina. 2016. Review: Mountains, Monasteries, and Mosques. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:381-394.

the first part of the volume, deal with trade and other aspects of Buddhist or general history, of which four also involve neighbouring regions: Spiti, Bashar, Kinnaur, and Kangra.

In their introduction, John Bray and Elena de Rossi Filibeck point to the fact that the mountains surrounding Ladakh have never been barriers to people, goods, and ideas. Several of the articles clearly illustrate this: traders, nomads, warriors, and missionaries had long crossed the region's boundaries.

The first European to visit Ladakh was the Portuguese merchant, Diogo d'Almeida (around 1600), followed by the Jesuit missionaries Francisco de Azevedo and João de Oliveira in 1631. Their information, however, on Christians in Ladakh, were quite misleading. It was not until 'Ippolito Desideri's First Remarks on Ladakh' (Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi, 27–43), following his stay in Leh in 1715, that more correct and more precise information was available, but ironically, Desideri's works were not published until 200 years later. Desideri travelled on to Tibet where he acquired such proficiency in the classical language that he was not only able to understand Buddhist philosophical treatises but also to compose a refutation, which he presented at the court in Lhasa.

That political boundaries are unstable and could vanish and reappear is illustrated by Christian Jahoda's 'Spiti and Ladakh in the 17th-19th centuries: Views from the Periphery' (45-59). Spiti was incorporated into Ladakh in 1630. After the Tibet-Ladakh war of 1679-1683, Spiti came under Tibetan control, but in 1687, was again under the political control of Ladakh. From 1734 to 1758 she belonged, at least nominally, to the kingdom of Purik. The relation with Ladakh ended with the Dogra incursions. After the treaty of Amritsar in 1846, Spiti was detached from Ladakh (then in possession of Rāja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir) and added to the British dominion. Jahoda emphasises the common religious and cultural traditions, such as the cult of Rdo rje chen mo or court music.

Georgios T Halkias' 'Until the Feathers of the Winged Black Raven Turn White: Sources for the Tibet-Bashar Treaty of 1679' (61-

86) focuses on the treaty that followed the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal war. He gives a translation, a critical edition, and some facsimiles. Unfortunately, it is unclear which documents are reproduced. The edited document, which is actually a much later reinstatement of the treaty, starts with a historical prelude, followed by four clauses. A subsequent retrospection involves the initial divination by letting a horse run free (its return was the positive omen for the Tibetan conqueror), the bribing of the frontier men, and finally the annexation of the land. This is followed by details of the documentation, post-war arrangements, a pledge, an appeal, and finally the colophon of the copyist.

Kurt Tropper's 'A Thousand *Manis* in Immutable Stone'. A Donor Inscription at Nako Village (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh)' (87-96), presents an enigma. The donor of the inscription, which dates from the fifteenth century or later, Phun tshog dbang po, describes himself as the offspring of a family of noble origin and great lineage with quite an uncommon name: *bhe()van(a) dpon* (or *dbon*). The name seems to be unknown in Nako, and may be related either to the village of Bhevan in Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh) or to a sixteenth century ruler of Baltistan, named Sultan Bewān or Biwān Co. As Tropper states, both possibilities seem equally unlikely, because the village is too unimportant, and the Balti rulers of that epoch never bore Tibetan names.

However, we know of practices that allow different siblings of a family to follow different faiths, as documented in Purik. They might have been current also in Baltistan in the early period of Islamisation. Furthermore, it was not uncommon to have matrimonial relations across the religious 'borders', particularly among noble families. It is, therefore, not so unlikely that the donor could be, at the same time, a Buddhist, as indicated both by his name and his donation, and a descendant of a royal family in Baltistan. The reading *dpon* 'master' is not fully certain, and Tropper thinks that it could stand for *co* 'ruler'. He further suggests that the alternative reading would lead to a "similar meaning" (91). In n. 50 (95) he suggests the translation 'paternal relative' for *dbon*. However, the

common translation for *dbon* is 'grandson' or 'nephew', which would better fit the self-description as belonging to a famous lineage. It seems likely to me that the donor lived in Nako, far from his royal relatives (maybe he had been given away in marriage), and it may have been this distance that prompted him to donate the *mani* wall. Whether this is the correct scenario or whether he actually came from Baltistan as a trader, the inscription testifies to the long distance relations across political as well as religious borders.

Another long-distance cross-border relation features prominently in 'Three 19th Century Documents from Tibet and the Lo phyag Mission from Leh to Lhasa' (John Bray and Tsering D Gonkatsang, 97–116). The documents in question are a receipt for the *lo phyag* (*lopchak*) gifts from the Treasurer of the Lhasa Government and two flowery letters to WH Johnson, then *wazir* of Ladakh, one apparently by a senior lama and the other by the treasurer. The authors seem to be puzzled that the second document contains "a number of spelling mistakes. From a senior lama, one would normally expect a high standard of spelling and calligraphy" (104). It is amazing how modern Western scholars are obsessed with orthography. They tend to forget that our own *literati*, not so long ago, did not bother much about the 'correct' spelling and might have used different variants in one and the same document, only a few lines apart. Tibetologists thus seem to follow blindly the fixed idea of Tibetan scholars that there exists a written standard as codified in the dictionaries (although different dictionaries might give different options). However, certain allegedly "non-standard" spellings are so common across the Tibetan cultural sphere, such as *rten* for *brtan* (cf. 112, first line), that one wonders whether these spellings do not constitute the real standard. Of course, there are often also spellings triggered by the pronunciation of the spoken language (such as the insecurity about a post final as noted in n. 37)² as well as simple slips

² A very common, almost regular 'non-standard' spelling is *ch* (ཆ) for *phy* (ཕ), as both graphemes lead to the same pronunciation [ʧ^h] or [ʧ^h]. Such orthographic variants are not different from those that can be observed in English, cf., e.g., British English *plough* and American English *plow* or

of the pen. But could such slips not happen to well-educated people? Just look at educated Westerners' emails.

The authors also discuss Captain Ramsay's investigation into a few other *lo phyag* documents. According to the latter, the address of one of the documents reads "Ngāris Maug yool guee sā skinongwā" (106). This is interpreted by the authors as *mnga' ris mar [!] yul gi sa skyong ba* (n. 44). It should be noted, however, that Ramsay had sought the help of the Moravian missionary, Rev. Friedrich Adolf Redslob. In older German handwriting, *u* and *n* are almost identical, and not being a German, Ramsay apparently was unaware that only a stroke above an ostensible *u* makes a real *u*. The place name is thus clearly *Mang yul*, a common alternative to *Mar yul*.

'A Project of Imperial Importance': Palampur Fair and the Kangra Tea Enterprise, 1867-79' (Arik Moran, 117-130) describes the development of tea plantations and tea trade in the Kangra Valley after the conquest of the Panjab by the East India Company in 1846. A main force behind the development was Douglas Forsyth, the Company servant and later divisional commissioner of Jalandhar. A proponent of the so-called Forward School, he advocated the expansion of British influence in Central Asia to counter Russian hegemony. The Palampur fair was installed to foster tea trade with East Turkestan, bypassing the Kashmirian trade links. While the tea plantations became a success, the fair soon failed to attract enough traders, due to both economic and political reasons.

In 'The Tradition of Sufism in Ladakh' (131-139), Abdul Ghani Sheikh highlights the impact of Buddhism and Shivaism on the Sufi movement in Kashmir and emphasises the Sufis' appeal to the unity of mankind in all religions. Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn Wālī, the founder of the Rishi movement, in particular, reminds us of ascetics or yogis like *Mi la ras pa*, as he meditated for twelve years in a cave. Being a strict vegetarian and a pacifist, he took up the Biblical utopia of *swords to ploughshares* (Isaiah 2:3-4) in a verse, saying "I broke the sword and converted it into a sickle." Sheikh depicts the Nūrbakhshiyya, which spread to Baltistan and Ladakh, as a

plough.

continuation of the Sufi movement. However, most erstwhile Nūrbakhshīs in Purik have converted to Twelver Shi'ism. Sheikh concludes that despite the presence of a minor Nūrbakhshī community in Ladakh, Sufism is mere history in Ladakh and that it is time to revive its legacy.

The Nūrbakhshī movement has been judged quite differently during its history, and the respective historical sources cannot, therefore, be taken at face value. What should be self-evident for every historian is that history or historical narratives hardly ever tell the facts objectively. At best, the presentation of the facts is embedded in the actual socio-political preconceptions. However, more often than not, histories also serve a particular political objective as aptly illustrated by Shahzad Bashir's 'Nūrbakhshīs in the History of Kashmir, Ladakh, and Baltistan: a Critical View on Persian and Urdu Sources' (141–152). The author discusses four different sources from four different contexts: a Nūrbakhshī hagiography from the mid sixteenth century, Mīrzā Ḥaidar's chronicle from the same epoch, an anonymous history of Kashmir royalty from the early seventeenth century, and finally Ḥashmatullāh Khān's *Tārīkh-e Jammūn* from 1938. Mīrzā Ḥaidar, in particular, had condemned the sect as heretical, but it turns out from the anonymous text, that his persecution was only politically motivated and served to mask his persecution of a local Kashmiri faction.

Bashir's lesson can be applied also to other aspects of Ladakhi history. A common preconception of Ladakhi history, based on the unquestioned authority of Francke, is that it was first inhabited by Tibetan nomads, while farmers settled later. That nomadism and animal husbandry is far from being necessarily a more archaic stage than settled agriculturism is aptly demonstrated by Pascale Dollfus: 'Who are 'Those of the Black Castle'? Discussing the Past of a Nomadic Group Inhabiting the Southeastern Edge of Ladakh' (153–172). The author argues that settled agriculture and nomadic animal husbandry are opposite ends of a continuum, and that people may shift along this continuum as the physical, social, economic, or political circumstances necessitate. The people of Kharnak most

probably came over the mountains from the Zanskar Valley, first practising transhumance, later settling in the area, and growing a small amount of barley wherever possible. However, since the closing of the frontier, they have given up the fields and shifted to the more lucrative production of pashmina.

The thirty-nine 'Wedding Songs From Wam le' presented by Elena de Rossi Filibeck (173–207) had been discovered and copied by Joseph Gergan in 1916. The copy was first handed over to August Hermann Francke. After his death, they were forwarded to Guiseppe Tucci, but ended up forgotten on a shelf, to be rediscovered only in 2000. They differ from the songs collected by Francke in that they do not consist of question and answer pairs, but this is not necessarily a specialty of the Wamle - or Hanle - songs. Most of the wedding songs I have recorded in Khalatse are likewise monologic in their structure. The transcription of the songs follows a brief introduction and the translation follows the whole set of songs. The reader is not immediately aware that the translations are not very faithful. Instead, they merely summarise the lines, omitting all repetitions, and thus do not echo the poetic structure of the original. A few example lines of the first song may illustrate this. In the original transcription, all syllables are followed by a space, but I shall indicate word units for a better understanding:

ཨོ་བཀ་ཤིས་པར་གུར་ཅིག།	ད་སྐྱོན་གསན་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག།
གུང་སྐྱོན་པོ་གུང་མཛོད་པའི་དང་ནས་སྐྱོན་གསན།།	
ཉི་ལྷ་གཉིས་པོ་ཁྱ་གསལ་ལེ།།	ཁྱ་གསལ་ལེ་དང་ནས་སྐྱོན་གསན།
རྒྱ་སྐར་འཛོམ་པོ་ཕྱ་རུ་གེ།	ཕྱ་རུ་གེ་དང་ནས་སྐྱོན་གསན།
གངས་དཀར་ཉི་མེ་དཔང་མཛོད།།	དཔང་མཛོད་པའི་དང་ནས་སྐྱོན་གསན།།
མཚོ་མོ་མ་ཕམ་གཉིད་ཟབ།།	གཉིད་ཟབ་པའི་དང་ནས་སྐྱོན་གསན།།

om bkra.shis.par-gyur.cig // da snyan.gsan.par-mdzod.cig //

gung sngon.po gung mtho.ba'i ngang.nas snyan.gsan

nyi.zla gnyis.po khra.gsal.le / khra.gsal.le ngang.nas

snyan.gsan /

rgya.skar 'dzom.po phra.ru.ge / phra.ru.ge ngang.nas

snyan.gsan /
gangs.dkar ti.se dpang.mtho / dpang.mtho.ba'i ngang.nas
snyan.gsan /
mtsho.mo ma.pham gting.zab / gting.zab.pa'i ngang.nas
snyan.gsan /

This is rendered plainly as:

Om, happiness! Now everybody listen!
Up in the high blue sky
Glow the sun and the moon, and the stars (*khra/ dbo* [sic!])³
glimmer,
the stars altogether look like jewels
the white and snowy Tise rises high like a witness [!],
the impenetrable deep lake Ma pham,
...

A full translation would run as follows:

Om, may [you all] be blessed! Now deign to listen attentively (lit.
with [your] ear!)
The blue sky ..., [the sky [rises] high];⁴ on account of (lit. out of
the nature of) the high sky, listen attentively!
Sun and moon, the two are shining bright; on account of [their]
brightness, listen attentively!
The assembled constellations⁵ appear like ornaments, on
account of [their] glittering appearance, listen attentively!

³ The text has *gnyis.po* 'both', hence it only deals with the sun and the moon. The word *dbo* does not appear, and *khra(bo)* means 'piebald', 'colourful', 'glittering', particularly in combination with such descriptive adverbs as *c(h)em.me*, *nar.re*, *me(r).re*, *tsam.me*, or *lam.me*.

⁴ Given the structure of the following lines, four or five words are missing, due to haplography. Since the last two or three words of the first half of the line are always repeated, the passage most probably ends with *gung mtho* /.

⁵ I expect *rgyu.skar* 'lunar mansion'. The vowel sign might have been lost while copying.

The white glacier Tise [rises] high up;⁶ on account of [its]
elevated height, listen attentively!

Lake Mapham [reaches] deep down; on account of [its]
deepness, listen attentively!

...

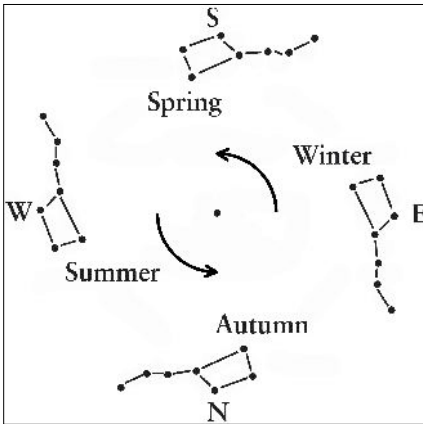
While the second part of each line appears repetitive, it reminds the listeners of their obligation to turn an ear to the song, due to the sacred nature of the items enumerated. It is thus at least as important as the first part, and should not have been omitted.

One also wonders why, in the case of songs v and XVIII, the thirteen lines have been condensed into ten, while the six lines of song XXII have been broken into nine. Similarly the eight lines of songs XV and XVI have been rendered with six and seven lines, respectively. And so on. The songs still await a more faithful translation.

In 'Sa bdag and Tortoise. A Survey of the Tradition of Geomancy in Ladakh' (209–219), Petra Maurer shows that while there might be quite detailed prescriptions for house construction (how the landscape should look, in which directions the doors should face, on which date a construction should be started, etc.), these are treated rather pragmatically. If only a few conditions are not met, this can easily be ignored. It is the astrologer who prescribes the particular conditions as well as the rituals, according to the person's horoscope and according to the seasons in correspondence with the turning of the *sa bdag* 'owner of the earth'. However, the non-consultation of the astrologer or the non-performance of the prescribed rituals can easily be 'healed' by just hanging up a *thangka* depicting the primordial tortoise. It remains unclear whether this tortoise is identical to the *sa bdag*.

⁶ *dpangs.mtho* 'high'. Alternatively, one could think of the 'high meadows', with *dpang* for *spang*, the meadows also constituting a common picture. There is certainly no place for a '(high) witness' *dpang.po*. Compare also the next line, where we deal with the deepness of lake Mapham (Manasarovar). The compound *dpang(s).mtho* 'high' finds its equivalent in the compound *gting.zab* 'deep'.

Fig. 1 The Great Dipper / Plough



Nevertheless, it is fascinating to read that the *sa bdag* turns around its axis throughout the year: in spring, the head faces west with the mouth pointing to the north; in summer, the head faces north with the mouth pointing to the east; in autumn, the head faces east with the mouth pointing to the south; and in winter, the head faces south with the mouth pointing west. This

movement corresponds exactly to the movement of the asterism Big Dipper or Plough (as part of the Great Bear constellation) around the polar star: in spring, the trapezoid, which apparently forms the 'head' faces west, and the 'tail'-like line (the 'shaft' of the Great Cart of the German tradition) points to the east. The western-most star along this line (α Dubhe) points to the polar star, and across to the northern position, which the Great Bear takes in autumn. This star is apparently the 'mouth'. In summer, the Great Bear stands in the west, with the 'head' pointing north and the 'mouth' towards the polar star and across to the eastern position, which the Great Bear takes in winter, and so on.⁷

Erberto Lo Bue travelled through the Himalayan regions in search of the so-called sky-burial, where corpses are cut into pieces and fed to vultures or even crows. The usual explanation for sky-burial is that there is too little wood to burn the corpses, but in his 'Notes on Sky-burial in Indian, Chinese and Nepalese Tibet' (221–237), Lo Bue argues that the main reason behind this and water burial is to commit a compassionate act by letting oneself be fed to birds or fishes. From a Buddhist point of view, the sky-burial is thus most auspicious, but Lo Bue also observes that in peripheral regions, such as Ladakh, this practice has stopped in the past few decades,

⁷ (See, e.g., http://en.es-static.us/upl/2012/09/Big_Dipper_Seasons.jpeg; a wonderful animation is found at <http://www.astrokramkiste.de/polarstern>).

allegedly due to the lack of suitable carrion birds, on the one hand, and specialised practitioners, on the other.

The main driving force, however, for this change seems to have been modernisation and the growing pressure of Hindu values. The situation is completely different in Tibet proper, where the sky-burial may also "carry an implicit message of identity" (234). Sky-burial is also the most popular form of burial in Mustang. The burial, however, differs considerably from the common type in that it is not performed by specialists, but by the relatives of the deceased: those on the father's side (the *rus* 'bone' relatives) are responsible for the flesh, those on the mother's side (the *khrag* 'blood' relatives) for the bones.

The competing forces of tradition and modernity are also the topic of Poul Pedersen's 'Traditionalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Life of a Modern Ladakhi: Abdul Wahid Radhu and Marco Pallis' (239–250). Born in 1922, Abdul Wahid Radhu grew up in a wealthy Muslim trading family, which also managed the *lopchak* (*lo phyag*) mission. He obtained a modern education, resulting in a BA in English from the Muslim University of Aligarh. Abdul Wahid was a restless and cosmopolitan traveller. While in Lhasa on the *lopchak* mission in 1943, he became fluent in Lhasa Tibetan. In 1944, he settled in Kalimpong, but soon set out to Nanjing, the then capital of the Kuomintang, where he got stuck and involved in politics when the communists' power increased. As he spoke both Tibetan and English, he often worked as an official interpreter. In 1947, he eventually was able to return to Kalimpong. In 1951, he went to Lhasa, where he made friends with the Dalai Lama's brothers, but he found the situation too tense, and returned to India, settling in Srinagar. However, at the invitation of the Dalai Lama's elder brother, he returned to Kalimpong to work in an exile-Tibetan information-gathering organisation. After the Dalai Lama settled in Dharamsala, Abdul Wahid was employed by the Aid Committee for Tibetan Refugees before working for the American Library of Congress in Delhi. Upon retirement, he finally settled in Srinagar.

In Kalimpong, Abdul Wahid met with the anti-modernist

Marco Pallis, who provided him with the English translation of the book *Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines* by the French Muslim convert, René Guénon, a strong proponent of eastern spiritualism. Abdul Wahid thus came to understand that Western education and modernisation were misleading and luring him towards mere materialism. He felt that he had been "caught between two cultures, and had lost the homogeneity of [his] personality" (246). 'Eastern' religions, whether Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism, would create "'metaphysical cosmopolitanism', a universe of shared meanings deriving from the primordial, divine revelation of spiritual truth" (247). Probably without realizing it, Abdul Wahid had become a follower of the Rishi movement as depicted by Abdul Ghani Sheikh (see above).

'Charting the Shugden Interdiction in the Western Himalaya' (Martin A Mills, 251–269) describes the background of the conflict and how the Ladakhi Gelug monks got caught between their loyalty towards a powerful protector of their monasteries and their loyalty to the Dalai Lama, who prohibited the worship of Shugden (Rdo rje Shugs ldan) in 1996. The latter, as a protector of the pure Gelug tradition, was adverse to the Dalai Lama's *ris med* or 'non-sectarian' movement, which includes Nyingma elements, and to other important Gelug protector deities. This issue led to an outcry in the international media, where the Dalai Lama was accused of religious intolerance, an opportunity also exploited by the Chinese government.

The Ladakhi Gelug community first hoped that the conflict concerned only the Tibetan diaspora and that they could silently continue their worship. However, the Dalai Lama made it clear that there was no room for compromise and that the monks had to decide between their protector deity and himself. While the monks feared breaking their vows towards the protector, it was also clear that a lama, and particularly a root lama, is considered higher than a (worldly) protector. Hence they reluctantly gave up Shugden worship, and the figures and shrines of the protector were eventually destroyed. Ironically, Shugden worship is now confined to

clandestine practices, much like Buddhist practice in China during the Cultural Revolution.

Mills further points to the dynamics of the conflict that drew the Ladakhi Buddhists from a position largely independent of the Tibetan Government-in-exile into its constitutional fold, as defined by the protector deities. The latter

mark the volatile boundary between religious and state authority for Tibetans: they are used as guardians to secure legal oaths, and their powers are evoked as part of the combined ritual-military defence of Buddhist states (268f).

Like so many other modern constitutional boundaries, this one is no longer permeable.

'Sacred Landscapes in the Nubra Valley' (Sonam Wangchok, 271-283) lists various sacred mountains, lakes, caves, trees, and 'footprints' of saints in the Nubra Valley as part of a larger project to document Ladakh's heritage, in order to generate awareness of the need to preserve it. However, all these sites are associated only with Buddhism. Do the Muslims have no such sites?

The volume is well edited, except for a few typos and a remaining editors' comment (n 3, p 273), which escaped the attention of the editors. This does not impede the otherwise pleasant reading, only the misspelled place names (p 134: Turktuk for Turtuk or p 136: Boghan for Boghdan) are somewhat irritating. Regrettably, the volume lacks an index.

Due to *karmic* complications, the volume did not reach the reviewer until five years after its publication, yet it may not be too late to introduce its interesting and, in several cases, also surprising contents to a wider audience. The price, however, is forbiddingly high, even for Westerners, not to mention the interested readership in Ladakh and the larger Himalayan or Transhimalayan regions, for which the information assembled is of even greater relevance. They should not be restricted by the base economics of 'Western' materialism to being mere objects of research, without being able to

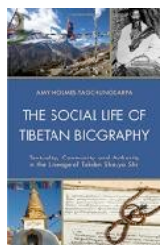
at least passively control what is written about them, their history, and their spiritualism. Hopefully, a more reasonably priced edition will be available in the near future, at least for the Indian readership, as has been the case for earlier volumes of *Recent Research on Ladakh*.

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REVIEW: THE SOCIAL LIFE OF TIBETAN BIOGRAPHY

Reviewed by Barbara Gerke (Humboldt University of Berlin)



Amy Holmes-Tagchungdarpa. 2014. *The Social Life of Tibetan Biography: Textuality, Community, and Authority in the Lineage of Tokden Shakya Shri*. Lexington Books. 221 pp. 6 figures, index. Series "Studies in Modern Tibetan Culture." ISBN 978-0-7391-6519-5 (hardcover, 81USD).

The book under review is a part of Lexington Books' series "Studies in Modern Tibetan Culture." The author, Amy Holmes-Tagchungdarpa, has a background in Religious Studies and researched the interrelationships between textual biography and social community networks of the Tibetan Buddhist lineage holder and Mahāmudrā and Dzogchen master, Tokden Shakya Shri (1853–1919) from Latokh, which at the time was a kingdom and one of five polities in Kham, Eastern Tibet, and today is in Chamdo County in the Tibet Autonomous Region. She interviewed contemporary students and family of Shakya Shri as well as translated excerpts from the master's biography, the *Garland of Flowers*. The Tibetan text is not appended, but interested readers can refer to the complete translation of the *Garland of Flowers* by Elio Guarisco (2009). An old black and white photo of the master, as well as photos of his community in Nepal and the stupas his followers helped to renovate, are included in the book. A map showing the regions of Shakya Shri's residences and spiritual influence would have been useful.

Holmes-Tagchungdarpa's analysis expands on existing scholarship on the biographies of visionaries, treasure revealers, and enigmatic Buddhist masters by providing an insightful discussion of a lineage holder outside conventional monastic establishments. She views a biography as a "social product, which has been created, and continues to be re-created, through an ongoing social process" (xiv). The book tells the story of a married yogi, who intensively practiced
Holmes-Tagchungdarpa, Amy. 2016. Review: The Social Life of Tibetan Biography. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:395-402.

Buddhist meditation, became a visionary and treasure revealer, and taught many students from across the Himalayas and Tibet at the turn of the twentieth century. He had two consorts, with whom he had four daughters and several sons, the exact number of which is unclear. While the role of the two wives, following Tibetan tradition, remains in the background, some of the sons and daughters became instrumental in establishing Shakya Shri's lineage through monastic and non-monastic traditions as well as advantageous marriage alliances. Since Shakya Shri himself came from a nomadic background without an established family lineage, a legitimate lineage had to be created for the continuity of his teachings.

Holmes-Tagchungdarpa shows how such a lineage is established through social networking, marriage alliances, the restoration of Buddhist monuments in Kathmandu, as well as the writing and distribution of two published biographies. The two biographies that became instrumental in establishing the lineage are the biography of Shakya Shri himself, which was written shortly after his death in 1919 by Katok Situ Chökyi Gyatso (1880-1925), and the biography of Shakya Shri's son, Sé Pakchok Dorjé, who became a celibate monk. The interrelationship of these two textual accounts demonstrates "the diversity of different forms of authority within a single lineage" (137).

The book is well structured and leads us through the life of Shakya Shri not chronologically, but along the political and social networks that shaped his lineage. The introduction presents the various definitions of power that have been relevant in the context of expressing political authority, especially in Eastern Tibet during the nineteenth century, drawing on the work of Yudru Tsomu (2006). Tsomu contests the monolithic political authority that is often presented as characteristic for Lhasa and the Dalai Lama's Ganden Podrang Government, but that neglects the power structures and autonomy that existed in social groups living at the periphery of Tibet, such as in Kham. Holmes-Tagchungdarpa's focus is on these peripheries of Tibetan areas of power and authority, not the center. Her interest lies in localized forms of power. In her introduction, apart from a brief chapter outline, she contrasts forms of power

in Buddhism with forms of power in Tibet without creating an artificial dichotomy. She rather introduces these forms of power as a foundation to understand issues of lineage, agency, and memory involved in the writing and propagation of Shakya Shri's biography.

In Chapter One the author sets the stage by contextualizing her research within other Tibetan Buddhist biographies. She successfully analyses how certain literary devices "establish the efficacy of the biographical subject" (10). This analysis of how biographies become efficacious is woven into the consequent chapters and also includes how a published biography as a material object "travels" for that purpose, assuring a wider geographical area for a lineage to be established.

In Chapter Two we come to know the kingdom of Lathok in the politically charged spatial geography of Eastern Tibet and its complex history at the end of the nineteenth century. Torn between local political figures, religious hierarchs, and border struggles with China, Lathok is located far away from the central government in Lhasa. It was a place where a charismatic figure like Shakya Shri had to rely on local networks to flourish. Some of the local political figures sponsored him and thus took part in the creation of the lineage. The author carefully treads on the literature, describing nomadic societies in neighboring Derge and the region of Amdo further to the north and does not fall into generalizations due to the lack of material available on Lathok. Local deities, such as the pre-Buddhist mountain deity Yézu, form part of this complex social network with which Shakya Shri had to engage, also using ritual means to interact with and negotiate between such spiritual relationships, which were also deeply political. Shakya Shri, who was trained at Drugu Monastery, was patronized by the Lathok kings, who needed the support of the local monasteries and their heads to legitimize themselves as the "righteous Buddhist leaders" as well as rely on them as ritual and political mediators (35). The author explores how these contexts influenced the ways in which Shakya Shri's biography chose or silenced certain patterns of power.

Chapter Three introduces the teachers and close friendships that had a decisive influence on Shakya Shri. Here, the author

corrects some depictions by contemporary scholars of Rimé as a "non-sectarian movement," which are widespread and often misunderstood. Rimé is often mistranslated as "nonsectarian" and presented as a kind of religious "movement." The author argues that Rimé with its "unbiased attitudes" was not a "movement" but a broad approach to Buddhism that "had long been common in Tibet" (66). The reader also learns about the influential teachers from whom Shakya Shri received transmissions of Buddhist teachings during his lifetime. He used these teachers to secure certain patronages and to establish himself as a Treasure Regent for another prominent figure, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo (1820-1892). In analyzing these interrelationships, not just as political alliances but in terms of real friendships, Holmes-Tagchungdarpa shows that what matters in such collaborative networks across the divides of social and political status are also real sentiments between individuals.

In Chapter Four, the author proposes an approach to the visionary and miraculous events described in the *Garland of Flowers*, which she terms "internal objectivity," defined as an objectivity that is "internally construed within the literary genre of biography in Tibetan society" (98). The biography's author, Katok Situ Chökyi Gyatso, was not directly part of Shakya Shri's lineage and thus was considered as having a certain "objectivity" through which he could legitimize Shakya Shri's miraculous powers. This effectively added authenticity to the biography. The chapter explores visionary and meditative details of Shakya Shri's life and his performance of miracles as "literary devices" that were essential to create his lineage.

While reading this chapter, one is reminded of Tanya Zivkovic's book *In-between Bodies* (2014, based on her PhD of 2008), especially with regard to the post mortem manifestations of a lama's biography in relics and other religious artifacts. According to Holmes-Tagchungdarpa, the biographical descriptions of what happened after Shakya Shri passed away are extensive and important in the *Garland of Flowers* and include miracles surrounding his shrinking corpse, the ensuing relics, and the elaborate funeral with hundreds of attendees and sponsors. Their detailed descriptions are in themselves verifiers for an "authentic" lineage, or as Zivkovic

argues, a continuation of the master's presence. Likewise, the ensuing relics that help build relationships between disciples and the master after his death can also be viewed as an "expression and extension ... of the biographical process," described in Strong's *Relics of the Buddha* (2004:5).

Chapter Five brings us into contact with Shakya Shri's public works, especially the renovation of three popular Buddhist *stūpas* in the Kathmandu valley, and the way they were documented in the *Garland of Flowers* and in the biography by Shakya Shri's son. As is the case so often, biographies do not necessarily tell the details of how certain events happened, but rather record these events as proof of something else. Here the textual representations of the *stūpa* renovations "prove" Shakya Shri's religious dedication, which in turn supports the establishment of his lineage far beyond the borders of Kham and across the Himalayas. The renovations were definitely major undertakings, involving time, money, and manpower. They provided lay people, as well as various political rulers, opportunities to take an active part in building Shakya Shri's legacy, with their personal motivations ranging from merit-making to the consolidation of political and territorial power. Though not surprising as a finding, the author's handling of the material to show how a lama's memory becomes associated with key sites of Buddhism through a firm establishment in biographical writing contributes to the growing critical scholarship on Tibetan biographies.

The family contexts and "bone" lineage of Shakya Shri is closely analyzed in Chapter Six. This chapter has an engaging discussion on the appropriate terminology of whether Shakya Shri could be considered a "Ngakpa," "married lama," "lay-practitioner," "household-practitioner," or a "religious specialist" - terms often used interchangeably in the literature (138-141). Holmes-Tagchungdarpa argues for a more nuanced approach towards some of the stereotypes associated with these labels and demonstrates that Shakya Shri's position was too complex to be characterized by any one of these labels. This chapter also provides a more personal insight into Shakya Shri's family life and his wives and children. Building on Stutchbury's research into Tibetan writings and how the "women are

'disappeared' in the remembering of lineage" (141, quoting Stutchbury 1991:303), Holmes-Tagchungdarpa sketches their lives with whatever little information she could gather. She is critical of the conventional Vajrayāna reasoning that lamas require a woman as their female consort to "practice completion yoga and lengthen lifespan" (142). She detects the underlying androcentric approaches towards women, and also in their usefulness to create political and socially advantageous networks through marriage alliances.

The assigned role of Shakya Shri's first and long-term wife, Chözang Drölma, was as the "mother" of his spiritual communities (144). The second wife, the much younger Péma Tso, also contributed through sexual yoga to his health and lengthening of his life span until she disappeared from the scene in 1919. The introduction of his children (145-147) is confusing in the way they are counted (the fifth son is followed by the eldest daughter, followed by the fourth child, then the second daughter, then the sixth child, who was a son, ...). At the end of the section, one still does not know exactly how many children he had (I guess ten, four of them daughters).

The story of his son, Pakchok Dorjé, is well documented by Holmes-Tagchungdarpa. He became a prominent lineage holder and teacher, led the renovations in Nepal, and wrote one of the biographies, but could not pass on the "bone" lineage, as he was a celibate monk. While he fulfilled an important role as a charismatic successor for his father's teachings, the "bone" lineage was passed on by several of his elder brothers, who married. The author shows how a family with various social networks collectively and successfully consolidated the tradition of Shakya Shri.

Chapter Seven brings in fascinating descriptions on the life of Shakya Shri's disciples or "heart sons," from the perspective of five of his students. A powerful scene is sketched in front of the reader's eye, in which around 700 students of mixed gender and ethnicity, from varying monastic and non-monastic backgrounds from across the Himalayas and Tibet live in groups in the main retreat place of Shakya Shri in Kham. After hearing these stories, one expects a subsequent chapter on the contemporary accounts of current followers of Shakya Shri based on the author's fieldwork.

Unfortunately these lively descriptions are brief and only found towards the end of the conclusion, which leaves the reader with open questions and a wish for more details about the contemporary activities of Shakya Shri practitioners.

The book is very readable and well researched, but it is frequented with outlines and summaries, which is helpful for those who skim through the book, but repetitive in many places for those who want to read the entire book. Overall, the *Social Life of Tibetan Biography* is a timely contribution to the study of life histories of Tibetan Buddhist masters that will be of interest beyond the discipline of Religious and Tibetan Studies. I also recommend it to anthropologists working on biographies and oral histories, since Shakya Shri's life is a profound example of how a spiritual lineage can emerge and spread through unconventional means outside monastic establishments, and explores the importance of power, authority, and agency through local networks and relationships. The book is also a useful introduction to anyone interested in unusual enigmatic spiritual figures of Himalayan and Tibetan culture.

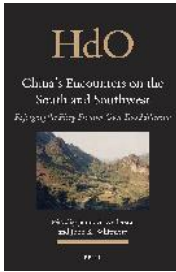
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REVIEW: *CHINA'S ENCOUNTERS ON THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST*

Reviewed by Francesca Fiaschetti (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)



James A Anderson and John K Whitmore (eds). 2015. *China's Encounters on the South and Southwest. Reforging the Fiery Frontier Over Two Millennia*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, xiv + 428. Five maps, 10 figures, 2 tables, preface, glossary, index. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 3 Southeast Asia vol. 22. ISBN: 9789004218901 (hardcover, 114 EURO).

This collection of fifteen articles investigates the formation of the southern Chinese frontier and interaction between China and the various regions of Southeast Asia throughout history. The idea started with a panel presented at the meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in 2010, to which other contributions from experts in the field have been added.

The theoretical premises inspiring the volume are presented in the introduction 'The Fiery Frontier and the Dong World', by James A Anderson and John K Whitmore, as well as in the concluding section 'Asymmetric Structure and Culture in China's Relations with Its Southern Neighbors' by Brantly Womack, which should be read as complementary. As Anderson and Whitmore point out in their contribution at the beginning of the book, the papers deal with the main question, as formulated by Eric Tagliacozzo (2013): "What is a frontier? How do we delineate it historically? Ontologically?" (3).

This issue has been at the center of many studies, especially those examining China's relations with its Inner Asian neighbors.¹

¹ Works the volume editors refer to include Di Cosmo (2002), Barfield (1989), and Power and Standen (1998).

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This volume's contributors are well aware of the ongoing debate on the northern frontier and aim to take the discussion further by changing geographical scope to look at China's southern and southwestern frontiers.

The geographical space analyzed extends therefore "from the Gulf of Tonkin to the eastern edges of Tibet, from the Yangzi to Southeast Asia" (3). What distinguishes this volume from previous studies about these regions,² is the focus on the processes of frontier-building in modern China in the wider geographical area - the "Zomia" of Scott/ van Schendel's formulation (6)³ - and historical perspective, as well as the conceptual references for the understanding of this area.

By tracing the historical development and the changing relations between the powers on the two frontiers, the volume poses the question of comparativity. What are the differences between the north and northeastern frontiers of China, and the southern one? What can this comparison tell us about the nature and role of frontiers (7-11)?

In posing these questions, the contributors must deal with the more general issue of understanding frontiers from the standpoint of the actors who shape them. Therefore, the delineation of a frontier is *per se* a process of identity building: its shape and role depend on which identity lends the perspective. As the volume's title makes clear, the perspective traditionally chosen is one looking southwards from China. This leads to another important question, mentioned by the editors in the introduction, and based on the considerations of Bol (among others),⁴ of what we should understand by "China" as a geographical, political, or cultural entity (5). But why should this frontier be viewed southward, from the north? This choice, connected to the issue of a traditional reliance on Chinese sources, as well as to historical relations of diplomacy and conquest, is presented by

² Harrell (1995) is a notable example of another collection of articles examining the question of Chinese frontier building.

³ Scott (2009:14-16).

⁴ Bol (2009).

Womack through the paradigm of the "asymmetry" in the Chinese construction of power relations and diplomacy (396).

With this in mind, the contributors nevertheless delineate in their papers processes of adaptation of ideas and of political development that underlie the autochthonous and original elements in the processes of identity-formation in the regions beyond the frontier.

As for the time span, the book tracks the changing dynamics with the south through a time division in three parts (14). The first is the *dong* 洞 'mountain valleys' phase, a period of irregular interaction between China and the Southeast Asian empires in the making with highlands people. This situation was interrupted by the Mongol invasions and especially by the conquest of the kingdom of Dali 大理 (937-1253) in the thirteenth century. The second period (thirteenth to eighteenth century) is characterized by the difficulties encountered in governing these regions, and confronted through the institution of the *tusi* 土司 system of native chieftains that was maintained under the Ming 明 (1368-1644) and the Qing 清 (1644-1911) dynasties. This constitutes the second chronological focus of the volume. The third phase sees a more targeted process of border definition (in the form of the Qing-era policy of *gaitu guiliu* 改土归流 'replacing native chieftains with state officials') from the eighteenth century through a rise of nationalistic discourse that continues to the present era.

This chronological structure also determines the order of the papers, which are divided into two sections, 'Shifting the Southern Frontier' and 'Shaping the Southern Frontier'. Although the subtitle of the book promises an ambitious study of two millennia, the papers concentrate mostly on the Yuan 元 (1260-1368), Ming, and Qing periods, whereas the proper *dong* period is thoroughly analysed in the first article 'Where to Draw the Line? The Chinese Southern Frontier in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries' by Catherine Churchman and, partially, in the one by Liam Kelley.

In her analysis of the foundation of Yuezhou 越州,⁵ Churchman brilliantly combines textual sources, maps, and archaeological evidence to delineate important conceptual and historical premises for the understanding of political structures in the *dong* phase. Particularly important is her review of terms for the description of populations in the South, tracing the origin of some back to Tai terms (64). She also traces the development of power structures in these areas and conceptually, she poses the important question of treating the frontier as a region instead of a line.

The second paper, entitled 'Constructing Local Narratives: Spirits, Dreams, and Prophecies in the Medieval Red River Delta' by Liam Kelley, offers a fascinating survey of spirit stories in Vietnam for the medieval period (eighth to fifteenth centuries). Expanding on the theories by Taylor (1986) and Dror (2007), and through a strong philological analysis, the author presents original materials and a variety of stories that overlap periods, genres, and motives. A leading question of his research is the relation between territoriality and identity, and the resultant clash between issues of identity and political legitimacy. He traces the movement, adoption, and adaptation of literary themes and local religious forms in the Red River Delta by Chinese agents, who began to endorse local spirits for political reasons, as well as the Vietnamese reappropriation of these religious forms. He also touches on the period of Mongol rule, which is, however, treated in more detail in certain other papers in this collection.

The expansion of the Mongols in the south had indeed no precedent, and the legacy of their campaigns profoundly shaped both the Chinese frontier and the interactions with southern neighbors for centuries after the fall of the Yuan Dynasty. Consequently, the Mongol campaigns in the south have stimulated ongoing scholarly interest.

⁵ An area corresponding to the southeastern part of present-day Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu 广西壮族自治区) and the southwestern part of present-day Guangdong 广东 Province, north of the Leizhou 雷州 Peninsula (59).

Three contributions in this volume - the papers by Anderson, Brose, and Sun - deal with this period, focusing on the Mongol interactions with Yunnan, the kingdom of Pagan (849-1287), and Đại Việt under the Trần Dynasty (1225-1400). Therefore, they should be seen as a thematic unit for providing a comprehensive, interconnected review of several effects of the Mongol campaigns in these areas. The only downside is a certain lack of uniformity in the rendering of Mongolian and other non-Chinese personal names that might confuse a non-specialist reader.

James Anderson, in 'Man and Mongols: the Dali and Đại Việt Kingdoms in the Face of the Northern Invasions', provides a detailed description of the military campaigns against Dali and Đại Việt, completing the information of the problematic *Yuanshi* 元史 '*History of the Yuan Dynasty*'⁶ with a variety of other sources, including those of Vietnamese compilation. The problem of the reliability of the *Yuanshi* as a source is in fact, a well-known issue for scholars of Mongol and Yuan history, for whom Anderson's analysis is a refreshing addition.

The author convincingly argues that the different results in resisting the Mongols depended on the diverging political organization of Dali (a "mandala state") and the more centralized Đại Việt kingdom (a "classical state"). The success of the latter depended on having shaped a stronger political identity, also through the borrowing of Chinese dynastic structures, and having strengthened the linkage between center and peripheral regions through marriage, commerce, and militia recruitment. This comparison between Dali and Đại Việt has the merit of looking at the political background and interactions of different regions at the Southern border, and the impact of the "Mongol factor" on local realities. Most importantly, Anderson turns the conventional interpretation of the frontier, examining the interaction with the Chinese territory northwards. This

⁶ Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), 1370 [1976]. The *Yuanshi* is one of the official Chinese dynastic histories known as the *Twenty-Four Histories of China*. Commissioned by the Ming emperor Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368-1398), the text was completed in 1370.

is a very interesting change from the aforementioned "asymmetry," and one shared by a few other papers in the volume.

On the other hand, Sun Laichen, in 'Imperial Ideal Compromised: Northern and Southern Courts Across the New Frontier in the Early Yuan Era', examines Mongol diplomatic interactions towards the South, taking first the example of Burmo-Chinese relations, and then a stronger focus on Đại Việt. This paper also offers a very competent review of various sources (Chinese and non-Chinese), some of which remain understudied, from official historiography to envoy poetry, and so on. The author thoroughly traces the many difficulties of these diplomatic encounters (e.g., the role of the envoys, misunderstandings in the performance of ceremonial diplomatic duties), which were at the center of Qubilai's (r. 1260-1294) politics for more than thirty years.

Sun connects the patterns of Qubilai's diplomacy to a longstanding Chinese tradition from which the Mongol ruler shaped, especially, relations with Đại Việt (227). However, the Mongolian matrix of Qubilai's foreign policy, which Sun correctly mentions on the base of Allsen's analysis⁷ (208), could have been given greater consideration. Yuan diplomacy - and not only towards the south - should in fact be seen as the product of a circulation of ideas witnessed between Han and Non-Han empires across history, and which has shaped what can be defined, following Skaff (2012), as a system of Eurasian diplomacy.

In the last of the three papers with a focus on the Mongol period, entitled 'Yunnan's Muslim Heritage', Michael C Brose analyses the development of Muslim elites in Yunnan through the Yuan and Ming dynasties. The creation of new elites and the movements of people have often been underlined as a major effect of Mongol rule in Eurasia. Brose provides an overview of some famous cases, e.g., the one of Sayyid 'Ajall (1211-1279) and his descendants. The author offers insight into the shaping of a new ethnic landscape in Yunnan under Mongol rule, taking the example of the Muslims and Uighurs employed in the army that the Mongols sent to Yunnan and

⁷ Allsen (1983).

Pagan, as well as in the administration. He further suggests the idea that Muslims - as other *semuren* 色目人 'people of various categories' under Mongol rule - were able to succeed in this region because of their liminality between Chinese and Mongol identities, and their simultaneous role as subjects and masters (152).

The papers focusing on the Ming Dynasty mostly interrogate the influence of Chinese culture on the frontier regions. On one hand, cultural forms were used by the Ming Dynasty to control the various local *tusi*. On the other hand, these influences were subject to adaptations, as native elites embraced Chinese culture to enhance their own legitimacy. This is the case, for example, of the writing of local gazetteers, as illustrated in the brilliant article by Joseph Dennis entitled 'Projecting Legitimacy in Ming Native Domains'. Taking the example of the *Mahu fu zhi* 馬胡府志, a sixteenth century gazetteer of Mahu 馬胡 (Sichuan 四川 Province), he shows the multiple purposes of local gazetteers. From a Ming perspective, these included territories in the Ming realm, shaping the cultural and geographical border between China (Zhongguo 中国) and the barbarians (*waiyi* 外夷) (260). Not less important was their documentary value, as they collected information from writings left by Chinese officials, as well as elements of native oral culture. For local elites, the sponsoring of local gazetteers was a way to enhance their legitimacy and reach out to Chinese elite.

This process of sponsorship shows that the administration of these frontier areas provided many occasions for the initiative and development of local elites and for the private initiative of individual personalities, who served as bridges between political and cultural systems. A similar aspect is at the center of the paper 'Northern Relations for Đại Việt: China Policy in the Age of Le Thanh Tong (r. 1460-1497)' by John Whitmore. He also looks at the frontier northwards and shows the different ways the scholars of Đại Việt convinced their rulers to enter the Sinitic cultural sphere (232), adapting Chinese strategies of governance and legitimacy to their own political purposes.

A further example is provided by Kathlene Baldanza in 'A State Agent at Odds with the State: Lin Xiyuan and the Ming

Recovery of the Four *Dong*'. She analyzes the role of Lin Xiyuan 林希元 (1480-1560) as an agent of cultural influence in the Ming frontier with Vietnam. She also highlights his role in shaping the international borders between the Đại Việt and Ming territories, especially in relation to the reappropriation of the region of the four *dong*.

Kenneth M Swope's 'Gunsmoke: The Ming Invasion of Đại Việt and the Role of Firearms in Forging the Southern Frontier' concentrates on a different kind of cultural influence: the technological exchange and movement of experts between Vietnam and China during the Ming Dynasty, focusing on the example of firearms and gunpowder. Following Sun's (2000) thesis in reading this technological exchange as a major contribution of the Ming Dynasty, the author portrays this process of technological exchange through reference to textual and archaeological sources. As the author shows, the impact of this technology was widespread, even reaching Burma and northeast India via traders.

The span between individual destinies and the shaping of frontier comes again to the fore in Alexander Ong's 'Royal Refuge and Heterodoxy: The Vietnamese Mạc Clan in Great Qing's Southern Frontier, 1677-1730', a study of the changing fate of the Mạc Clan under the Ming and Qing, as well as in the paper by Bradley C Davis 'Volatile Allies: Two Cases of Powerbrokers in the Nineteenth-Century Vietnamese-Chinese Borderlands'. The papers dealing with this later period are more directly concerned with the aforementioned vision of "asymmetry" postulated by Womack. This is evident, for example, in the interesting contribution by Kim Jaymin entitled 'The Rule of Ritual: Crimes and Justice in Qing-Vietnamese Relations During the Qianlong Period (1736-1796)'. It provides a broad variety of examples of legal cases to review the controversy between territoriality and judiciary power in the case of Qing China and Vietnam. Kim convincingly shows how Qing attitudes towards tributary states were oriented towards the idea of a universalistic mission of government that deeply influenced the understanding of frontiers, and territorial and political identities.

An interesting aspect of Kim's paper is the comparison

between Qing relations with Đại Việt and Korea (Chosŏn, 1392-1910). This is, in fact, the clearest comparison in the volume between northern (more specifically northeastern) and southern frontiers, a pattern deserving more attention in further studies. Another notable point of Kim's analysis is the issue of political refugees and their border crossing, a topic similar to the royal refugees analyzed by Amy Holmes-Tagchundarpa in 'Depicting Life in the Twentieth-Century Sino-Tibetan Borderlands: Local Histories and Modernities in the Career and Photography of Zhuang Xueben (1909-1984)', which turns the discourse to the Republican period, and geographically to the Sino-Tibetan Frontier. She brings visual history to the fore, concentrating on the Han Chinese photographer, Zhuang Xueben 庄学本, and his portrayal of Tibetan borderlands and their minorities. The author's lively analysis of Zhuang Xueben's life and career shows how his work responded to different political and intellectual biases, from work produced for documentary purposes, as artistic expression, and to contributing to the construction of a national identity.

The theme of national identity is also present in the last paper entitled 'From Land to Water: Fixing Fluid Frontiers and the Politics of Lines in the South China/Eastern Sea' by Kenneth MacLean, who examines the maritime side of the southern frontier in the contemporary interaction between China and Vietnam. His analysis of the various attempts to manage a maritime frontier, of the related interests and difficulties, and of the usage of these issues for nationalistic purposes shows how the idea of a "fiery" Southern frontier has been perpetuated across history to the present day.

This collection is the product of the expertise of the authors, who offer an up-to-date overview of the theories and sources in their respective fields of research. In this regard, the volume provides a valuable new contribution to scholarly debate. An important merit is presenting a great variety of primary sources, Chinese and non-Chinese, many of which offer original material for the study of these issues. The combined usage of primary documents together with non-textual materials adds value to certain papers in the book, and is a direction that should be pursued in future studies on the

topic.

The papers are very well interconnected, theories and ideas flow and recur across sections of the book, and the contributors often refer to each other's work. This gives the positive impression of a lively and ongoing discussion among the authors. The scope of the book is, however, very broad in both geographical area and chronology, leaving much room for completion and supplementation of the discussions initiated here. This is probably also due to the format of the book - a collection of essays - that nonetheless has the indubitable advantage of presenting a wide range of topics that constitute an inspiration for further, deeper analyses. For this same reason, and due to the specialized character of the papers, this volume is more suited to an audience who has existing knowledge of the history of China and Southeast Asia rather than as a teaching text.

More generally, this volume not only portrays how the frontier was shaped, but also gives some hints on how it was deconstructed and transcended, offering a stimulating challenge for other scholars to answer the above mentioned questions.

In this respect, two key elements should be considered. The first is the distinction between Han and non-Han actors in the shaping of the southern frontier. As shown in the papers in this volume, periods of non-Han rule brought different inputs and contributions to interaction with the southern regions, as did their Han counterparts, most notably the Ming. It is thus insufficient to include these two different aspects under the general label of "China" or "Chinese influence." During periods of non-Han rule, Chinese territory was part of a broader Eurasian context, and the Inner Asian ideological influences brought about in this process deserve more attention. Most notably, a distinction was indeed made by the southern kingdoms that interacted with China. One famous example is the Trần Dynasty, which tried to maintain ties with both the Mongols and with the Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279) in a triangular dynamic.⁸ The different areas of the southern frontier should thus be analyzed as the ground for the interaction of multiple

⁸ This issue is treated by Warder (2009).

actors, and as the place where legitimacies were challenged and multiple loyalties concurred with local interest.

The second point is that the focus of the volume lies mostly on elite discourses. Some notable exceptions are to be mentioned, such as the fishermen of MacLean's paper, the portrayals in Holmes-Tagchungdarpa's contribution, and the refugees of Kim's analysis. However, it would be of value to analyze the role of the frontier beyond the processes of empire-formation and identity-construction of the political elites. Most importantly, the frontiers are not only a means of separation between geopolitical identities, but are also the place of contact, interaction, and often of crossing between them. How did this crossing occur? What was its influence in everyday culture? Certain papers in this volume touch this issue, but there are still many paths to be explored in this direction.

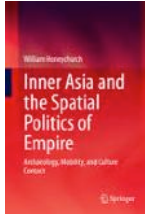
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REVIEW: *INNER ASIA AND THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF EMPIRE:
ARCHAEOLOGY, MOBILITY AND CULTURE CONTACT*

Reviewed by Francesca Fiaschetti (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)



William Honeychurch. 2015. *Inner Asia and the Spatial Politics of Empire: Archaeology, Mobility, and Culture Contact*. New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer. XI + 321. Fifty figures, index. ISBN: 1493918141 (hardcover, 139.09EURO).

How does mobility affect processes of polity building? Are cultural contacts a secondary product of an established form of government, or are they a precondition for it? How can archaeology complement history in researching these issues? These are among the questions addressed by Honeychurch's book, in which evidence from different sources, but mostly the results of surveys and excavation projects at the Mongolian sites of the Egiin Gol river valley, and the Baga Gazaryn Chuluu region, are conveyed (12).

The theoretical premises of his analysis derive from the need to challenge the traditional image of Inner Asian nomads as portrayed in textual sources produced by their sedentary neighbors. The issues related to the usage of such historical documents, and especially Chinese records, are well known. These sources follow a particular rhetoric aimed at legitimizing the processes of state-formation of the cultures that produced them. The image of the Inner Asian nomads that they offer functions to meet this purpose. They are traditionally depicted as barbarians, whose processes of polity-formation are a byproduct of interaction with their sedentary neighbors. The need to counter such stereotypes has increasingly driven the attention of scholars since the analysis in the seminal study by Sneath (2007).

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Honeychurch's work is a further contribution to this debate, with two positive innovations: he focuses on an earlier period – from the Late Bronze Age (1400-1000 BC) to the rise of the Xiongnu 匈奴 confederation (209 BC-ca. 93 AD) - and he brings archaeological evidence to the fore as a means of confirmation or refusal of various historical analyses.

In presenting the material evidence and related theories from his own and other scholars' work, the author addresses these data in ways that are innovative in several aspects. Firstly, he challenges the idea of the liminality of Inner Asian nomads, traditionally described as being at the frontier of a sedentary empire (China under the Han 漢 Dynasty, 206 BC-220 AD, in the case of the Xiongnu). He turns the perspective around by putting Mongolia at the geographical center, and at the core of networks and cultural dynamics that linked it in the Northwest to the territories of present-day Kazakhstan and Siberia, and in the Southeast to the regions of present-day Inner Mongolia and to China, this last being meaningfully situated "at the Edge of Inner Asia."¹

A second, controversial aspect of the traditional "frontier" representation that Honeychurch tries to overcome, is the interaction between nomadic and sedentary populations mostly presented as military confrontation. Furthermore, in the case of the Xiongnu, various scholars have stressed the military element, in terms of large-scale warfare and conquest, as a key-factor for their rise to power.

By looking not only at the elites, but also at the "herders, farmers, hunters, and crafts people who made up the diverse communities of the Eurasian steppe" (3), the author highlights the processes of network-constructions and the management of mobility as an asset for the creation of large complex polities.

In this framework, a key concept for the understanding of processes of polity-formation is "spatial politics," defined as "the harnessing of communal spatial knowledge and movement capacity as a recognized venue for the negotiation of political relationships"

¹ As formulated in Chapter Seven 'At the Edge of Inner Asia: The Northern Zone and the States of China, 1200-700 BC'.

(66). Stressing the element of movement, the author suggests that different kinds of mobility lead to different forms of statecraft, and that a change in the social and spatial scale of the mobility determines a change in the type of politics (66). As a consequence, Honeychurch sees the management of mobility as a precondition for the rise of the Xiongnu polity.

The above-mentioned arguments are mostly dealt with in the first three chapters, in which the theoretical background, the terminology, and the scope of the book are outlined. In the first chapter, 'Voices from the Steppe', the author reviews in detail the main theories on interactions between Inner Asian nomads and their sedentary neighbors. He particularly highlights the work of Lattimore (most notably 1940) as one of the first scholars to seek elements of indigenous development and state-formation in Mongolian culture.

In the second chapter, entitled 'Overcoming the Tyranny of Distance: Culture Contact and Politics', Honeychurch elaborates on key questions that are useful in understanding data presented further on in the book. These focus on the entanglement of three concepts: goods, scale, and the political framework.

In terms of goods, he poses the interesting question of how novelty items affect social dynamics. He takes three examples, one from archaeology (the jew's harp) and two from the modern and contemporary world (Oreo cookies and the role of foreign goods in defining wealth in modern Mongolia). Through these case studies, and the adroit combination of archaeology and cultural anthropology, he shows how objects move and adapt to new contexts, and what the social impact of this movement is.

In his approach, Honeychurch elaborates on Dietler's (2010) idea of "entanglement," which is summarized as "unanticipated but consequential webs of contacts between different peoples that can interconnect conditions locally and globally" (31).

A key element for the construction of these contacts being is, in Honeychurch's view, the indigenous consumption of foreign goods (31-32).

One of the possible outcomes of this entanglement is "upscaling," by which Honeychurch indicates the change in the

interaction between small-scale networked polities "towards a more encompassing collective scale and a new political identity" (41).

This approach towards the dynamics of policy, or even empire-formation, is one of the most noteworthy elements of Honeychurch's line of thought. It is exactly this framework that the author uses in a later section of the book (chapters Eight and Nine) to rethink the chronology, dynamics, and phases of the Xiongnu rise to power. This happened, according to the author, through a tripartite process (68-72):

- the entanglement which created the conditions for the formation of the Xiongnu confederation (1400-700 BC),
- the period of consolidation (600-200 BC), defined by allegiance among local polities, and
- the phase of spatial politics (200 BC-200 AD).

A third aspect of Honeychurch's preliminary set of questions is the understanding of political structures and their formation. What do we understand under the "state"? And are the features of pastoral nomadism incompatible with the state? This is the topic of Chapter Three, ('Solving Contradictions: Nomads and Political Complexity') in which the author reviews the main historical and anthropological theories surrounding these issues. In his understanding:

pastoral nomadism is not a static condition, a mode of production, or an economic type. Rather, it can be considered an ongoing and malleable process of 'change, range and modes' in all aspects of experience including diets, mobility, technology, habitation patterns, landscape arrangements, rituals, and belief (57).

This definition brings forward the perspective of previous analyses showing the complexity of the whole notion of "pastoral nomadism," starting from the seminal formulation by Vajda (1968), whose works should be added to the list of studies reviewed by Honeychurch.

In this context, the author suggests that it is worthwhile to

reflect on the theories by Ingold (especially 2000) on the role of animals in the society of pastoral nomads. According to his studies, herd animals are not a passive element of pastoral society, but an important element to shape the herders' perception of society and social bonds (54). An important result of this predominant function of livestock among pastoral nomads is the enhanced role of mobility. From this point of view, Honeychurch moves to the next question: Does mobility - or pastoral nomadism in general - deny the state as an organizational form?

This obviously depends on how we choose to define the state. Following the very apt formulation of Scott (2009:59) that "the state is less a unity than a complex web of contractual mutualities," Honeychurch convincingly argues that the mobility of the pastoral nomads does not deny processes of polity building, but instead it enables them.

Chapter Four is mainly an introduction to the context of the regions in which the excavations described in the subsequent section of the book took place. The author gives a description of the geographical peculiarities of the sites at Egiin Gol and Baga Gazaryn Chuluu. By looking closely at the geographical features of Mongolia and of Eurasia, he shows that their variety and differentiation contrast with any form of historical generalization of the idea of the "Eurasian steppe zone."

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven constitute the core of the book, focusing on the presentation and evaluation of data from archaeological survey and genetic analyses from Inner and Northeast Asia. Honeychurch comparatively analyses archaeological evidences from the Late Bronze Age (1400-1000 BC) to the Early Iron Age (750-300 BC) in three different areas: in Mongolia (Chapter Five), in the Semirech'e and Kazakhstan regions (Chapter Six), and in the frontier region with China (Chapter Seven).

In doing so, he aims to delineate the context that allowed the rise of the Xiongnu confederation. He particularly highlights the shift in the interaction among small-scale complex-polities during the middle of the second millennium BC, when long-distance transfer of technologies, beliefs, and goods began (69), mainly enabled by the

spread of horseback riding.

In general, the discourse about horses is a very strong point in Honeychurch's analysis. He convincingly shows how archaeological evidence suggests a gradually changing attitude toward horses: from common herds among others, to an important element of burials, to a means of transportation.

Chapter Five ('The Late and Final Bronze Age Cultures of Mongolia: 1400-700 BC') is the richest in terms of information. The author provides a detailed analysis of the monuments found in the West (*khirigsuur* and deer stones) and in the East (shaped and slab burials) of Mongolia. By analyzing their variety, location, symbolism, and ritual connection, the author pursues these questions: Do these monuments suggest the establishment of social differentiation and the emergence of an elite? Or, were they the outcome of inter-regional allegiances and network building? He competently provides a survey of the theories seeking to explain the issues related to these burial structures, whose meaning remains an open question.

His research and considerations highlight two important points: 1) the transfer of beliefs and practices as the result of the interaction between communities, and 2) the importance of domestic horses and horses-centered rituals (121). Of particular note is Honeychurch's observation that the transfer of beliefs and ritual (mostly burial) practices could be the result of the creation of inter-community loyalties, and the construction of an interconnected elite, and an inter-regional form of leadership.

As mentioned earlier, all these elements constitute the conditions for the emergence of the Xiongnu confederation, as outlined in detail in chapters Eight and Nine. Chapter Ten 'Steppe Cores, Sedentary Peripheries, and the Statecraft of Empire' concludes the book by examining the influences of these "mobile legacies" on contemporary Mongolia (305-313). The author returns to the initial issue of the interaction of nomads and sedentary culture, and the problems related to using Chinese sources, challenging in detail Barfield's (most notably 1989, 2001, 2003, 2011) theories (298-299). He even twists the traditional perspective of state-formation among Inner Asian nomads, by examining how the dynamics of the Xiongnu

polity influenced the Han and, previous to them, the Qin 秦 Dynasty (221-206 BC).

This book utilizes a fresh perspective to examine issues that have occupied anthropological and historical discussions for at least the last decade, and the Sinological studies on Han and non-Han interactions for the last twenty years.² In this context, Honeychurch's study makes two key contributions. Firstly, as a result of thorough fieldwork, it collects a broad variety and great quantity of archaeological data and theories about Eurasian prehistory, a period that definitely needs further scholarly attention. Secondly, by combining theories from various disciplines (anthropology, geography, and history), the author challenges the reader to reconsider categories, terminology, and historical and spatial dynamics.

The meticulous explanations of the theoretical framework; the state of the research; as well as the geographical, economic, and historical context of the regions analyzed; along with a clear structure (short paragraphs and frequent summaries of previous ideas or sections of the volume), make the book suitable for teaching and as an introductory tool for anyone approaching the history of Mongolia for the first time. For a specialized audience, this study offers a very useful collection of new archaeological results, a well-informed summary of the state of the research, and a thought-provoking set of questions to inspire further studies on the subject.

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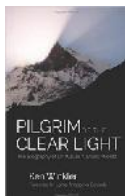
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² Rawski (1996) is traditionally considered the starting point of this debate.

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REVIEW: *PILGRIM OF THE CLEAR LIGHT: THE BIOGRAPHY OF DR. WALTER Y. EVANS-WENTZ*

Reviewed by M Alyson Prude (Georgia Southern University)



Ken Winkler. 2013. *Pilgrim of the Clear Light: The Biography of Dr. Walter Y. Evans-Wentz*. Bangkok: BooksMango. 190pp. Nine photos, foreword, acknowledgements, introduction, notes, about the author. ISBN 978-1633231160 (paper 14.99USD; eBook 4.99USD).

As various English-language translations have collectively sold more than half a million copies, much has been written about the collection of texts known as the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. Little attention, however, has been focused on its creator, Walter Y Evans-Wentz (1878-1965), a man "no one really knew" (15). Originally published in 1982 and reprinted in a second edition in 2013, *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* seeks to shed light on the person of Evans-Wentz. Since its first printing, *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* is the source on which all subsequent scholarship related to Evans-Wentz has relied.

Winkler bases his narrative of Evans-Wentz's life on personal diaries, letters, and interviews that he consulted and conducted over a period of years of travel between California, Oxford, and India. His account provides anecdotes about Evans-Wentz that allow the reader to catch a glimpse, albeit tenuous, into the motivations and psyche of "a driven and compulsive individual" who "lived solely within his own mind" (15). In the account of Evans-Wentz's time at Stanford, for example, we read of his experience of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Evans-Wentz was in his fourth-floor dorm room when the earthquake struck early in the morning of 4 April. Deciding that the only safe place to be was on top of the building, Evans-Wentz climbed out his window and clung to the rain gutter in an attempt to pull himself up onto the roof. Luckily for him, before he had been hanging for too long, some friends burst into his room and pulled him back inside. In his diary entry about the event and the earthquake's aftermath, Evans-Wentz recorded, "Measured by man's

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evolution the disaster is a greater good than an evil" (41). This sentiment regarding the miserable state of humanity in the Western world remained a theme throughout Evans-Wentz's life.

After finishing a master's degree at Stanford, completing a study of fairy lore at Oxford, and sitting out two years of WWI in Egypt, Evans-Wentz made his way to Sri Lanka in 1917. He spent the next twenty-four years moving back and forth between Oxford and India with brief visits to the United States. Winkler depicts him as a habitual traveler who rarely stayed in one location for more than a few weeks and who was always on the lookout for religious texts. Based on letters and journal entries written during this time, Winkler argues that Evans-Wentz's aim in interpreting and writing commentaries on the manuscripts he collected was to demonstrate that Asian philosophical and religious ideas (and later Native American ones as well) were neither primitive nor unsophisticated, but superior to those held by his English-speaking audience. Of all the ideas he championed, the doctrine of rebirth, a teaching he first encountered via Theosophy, seems to have been closest to Evans-Wentz's heart. His insistence on the subject led to conflict with Christian groups worldwide, especially in Sri Lanka where Catholics tried twice to have him deported. Evans-Wentz was undeterred, however, and continued writing articles in which he "bombarded the public" with his views on the "thoroughly scientific" theory of rebirth that he was sure scientists were on the verge of proving (93).

Winkler makes clear that Theosophy provided the context for Evans-Wentz's interpretations of Asian practices and philosophies. Much has been made of the fact that Evans-Wentz appears to have never practiced Tibetan teachings or enjoyed a close disciple-teacher relationship with Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868-1923), the Sikkim-born schoolteacher who Evans-Wentz hired to translate the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (see Lopez (2011) and his forewords to the 2000 printing of Evans-Wentz's tetralogy). This "contemporary carping" (80), as Winkler calls it, about Evans-Wentz's research seems to be the impetus behind the second edition of *Pilgrim of the Clear Light*. In its new version, Winkler has added quotes to the beginning of each chapter, replaced the index with an "About the Author," and incorporated a minor amount of additional information about Evans-Wentz's travels and conversations with other spiritual seekers of his

day. The significant alteration, however, is a sustained rebuttal to demonizations of Evans-Wentz. Winkler reminds the reader that Evans-Wentz was a "meticulous scholar" hampered by a dearth of resources available to students of Tibetan Buddhism in the early twentieth century, resources that could have offered more accurate understandings of the texts that he painstakingly collected and studied.

Readers unfamiliar with the scholarship of Donald Lopez may be surprised by the defensiveness with which Winkler writes. For one, Winkler begins his introduction: "Seldom is another's life as we would like it to be" (15), thus setting the stage for an exposé and establishing a tone for later criticisms of Evans-Wentz. One can surmise, however, that it is statements such as these that put Winkler on the defensive:

Evans-Wentz knew what he would find in the Tibetan text before a single word was translated for him. It almost seems that Evans-Wentz's spiritual vacation could have taken him to any Asian country and that he could have randomly chosen any Asian text, and he would have produced some version of the book published in 1927 (118, in Lopez 2011).

In the same work, Lopez (2011) accuses Evans-Wentz of "[doing] something wrong. His crime was to pretend that his text originated from a time and place, where in fact it did not" (150). Those acquainted with Lopez's writings might conclude that the overblown strength of his remarks is intended for dramatic effect, especially since Lopez's (2011) next paragraph compares Evans-Wentz's "fabrication" to what "Tibetans had done for centuries" in their tradition of revealing *terma* (150). Nevertheless, for someone who admires Evans-Wentz as a "highly principled man, a... pioneer" (15) Lopez's words are sure to rankle.¹

Lopez (2000b) critiques Evans-Wentz as a translator and scholar of Tibetan Buddhism who engaged in "egregious and willful misreading" of the texts (L). Yet in the context of his life as portrayed in *Pilgrim of the Clear Light*, the source of Lopez's information about

¹ See also Thurman's 2001 review of *Prisoners of Shangri-La*.

Evans-Wentz, Evans-Wentz appears not as a fraud or criminal but as an overly zealous advocate. Winkler makes clear that Evans-Wentz's goals were not fame and fortune; Evans-Wentz sought to garner interest, among Western audiences, in Asian religious thought. He considered himself an interpreter and translator in the broadest senses of the terms, introducing Asian philosophies and charging succeeding generations with correcting and amending his work. When one keeps in mind, as Winkler continually reminds us to do, that Evans-Wentz's intention was not to dupe but to inspire his readers, his mistakes look much less sinister.

Throughout *Pilgrim of the Clear Light*, Winkler provides historical and geographical context for the events of Evans-Wentz's life mixed with Winkler's own views of Theosophy, the positive and negative aspects of various Indian cities, and the value of Evans-Wentz's efforts. The background information about time and place is helpful, but the quantity of parenthetical notes and digressions interrupt the flow of the story. References to past and future events confuse the chronology and, for this reason, summaries of Evans-Wentz's life by Lopez (2000 and 2011) and Reynolds (2010) are easier reading. In effect, *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* is not so much an academic work (the book lacks a bibliography and all but cursory reference to scholarly sources) as a personal reflection on Evans-Wentz. In this respect, my critique of *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* shares similarities with Lopez's criticisms of Evans-Wentz's works: it is not sufficiently scholarly and it is suffused by the author's personal views. Although Winkler's points are valid, arguments about the genuineness of Evans-Wentz's motivations are out of place in the body of the text and would be more appropriately located in an expanded introduction. A more robust introduction would have the added benefit of allowing Winkler a place to record his travel notes and personal observations. Towards the end of the book, Winkler mentions that his aunt was a librarian at the San Diego library that Evans-Wentz patronized. More information about Winkler's relationship to Evans-Wentz would be both interesting and useful for assessing Winkler's presentation of Evans-Wentz's life.

That being said, the importance of *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* parallels that of Evans-Wentz's books. Even Lopez commends Evans-Wentz for his anthropological bent, specifically, his fieldwork and

efforts to work with native scholars. Winkler can be commended for the same: on-the-ground legwork collecting documents, interviews, and first-hand impressions. Photographs, including one of the stupa in Almora, India, where Evans-Wentz's ashes are interred, add fullness and immediacy to biography. Additional photos, both of and by Evans-Wentz and copies of some of the diary entries and letters that Winkler examined would be welcome, as well as maps of India and California to orient a reader unfamiliar with their geographies. Winkler informs us that later in his life, Evans-Wentz preferred a simple diet, formal but often thread-bare clothes, and became known as a "notorious penny-pincher" despite the fact that his dealings in real estate afforded him a modest degree of wealth. Details such as these, and that Evans-Wentz would sniff out the "psychic currents" and "spiritual structure" of locations (163, see also 40), make *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* a worthwhile read.

Regrettably, in its second edition *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* suffers from a lack of editing. The reader must persevere patiently through typographical errors, dangling modifiers, unclosed quotations, and other mistakes that hinder the flow of the narrative. This significant downfall of the work presents itself to the reader immediately. The second paragraph of the first chapter begins: "Though he never came to call it chance his being there, it was indeed a casual whim of finding a translator that propelled him to this outpost of Buddhism on the edge of Tibet" (18). A few pages later, one reads:

Though Evans-Wentz mentioned his family seemed filled with solid farmers and quiet, pious folk (on his mother's side), it was the black sheep which took the imagination (and the innocent avarice) of he and his brothers and sisters (21).

The first edition published by Dawnfire does not contain these errors. That the new edition is self-published is unfortunate. It would have benefited immensely from professional editing.

Criticisms aside, *Pilgrim of the Clear Light* remains our most comprehensive source of information about Walter Y Evans-Wentz. Contemporary scholars may have dismissed his books for not being true to the traditions they purportedly translate, but succeeding

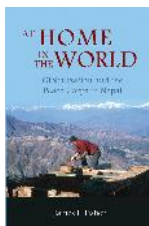
generations of undergraduate and lay readers continue to turn to the "timeless wisdom" as presented (or, one could argue, created) by the restless and introverted spiritual seeker whose life mission was to bring lost or as yet "undiscovered" spiritual traditions to American and European societies. Whereas Evans-Wentz's study of *bardo* literature has been repeated numerous times and much corrected in the process, Winkler's research has not been repeated. Even thirty-three years since it first appeared in print, we owe our current knowledge of Evans-Wentz to Winkler's presentation in *Pilgrim of the Clear Light*.

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REVIEW: *AT HOME IN THE WORLD: GLOBALIZATION AND THE PEACE CORPS IN NEPAL*

Reviewed by Sienna Craig (Dartmouth College)



James F. Fisher. 2013. *At Home in the World: Globalization and the Peace Corps in Nepal*. Bangkok, Thailand: Orchid Press - Bibliotheca Himalayica. +218pp, 21 b&w illustrations, endnotes, bibliography, index. ISBN: 978-9745241572 (paperback, 25USD).

It is something of a truism - if not a cliché - that cross-cultural encounters of the kind epitomized by the United States Peace Corps program can be life-changing experiences. Immersion into landscapes, languages, and cultures half a world away from where one is brought up cannot help but be transformative. Some flourish under the disorienting - or reorienting - spell of culture shock and emerge perhaps less certain about the world but more enamored of it. Others find such experiences tumultuous, sometimes making a hasty retreat back to familiar geographies or making it through these experiences but opting not to repeat them. In the case of James Fisher, his deep dive into the peoples and cultures of the Himalaya as part of Peace Corps 1 in Nepal (1962-1964) shaped not only his views of the world but also his professional trajectory in profound ways. Peace Corps was Fisher's gateway into a life of ethnographic exploration, teaching, and anthropological collaborations stemming half a century.

At Home in the World tells the story of the first cohort of PCVs (Peace Corps Volunteer) to come to Nepal. Interwoven into the text are details about the history of Peace Corps and of American and Nepali politics circa the mid-twentieth century. It is also a text populated with reflections of Fisher's fellow PCVs, gathered through letters, ethnographic observation, and interviews Fisher conducted over the years. So, while the book is very much about a dialogue between Fisher and other PCVs as well as between Americans and Nepalis:

Fisher, James F. 2016. Review: *At Home in the World: Globalization and the Peace Corps in Nepal*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:431-433.

At its heart...this book ultimately stems from my desire to understand my own experience and life. But...I am no memoirist; I am an anthropologist, and my way of understanding is to look at my subjects through an anthropological lens (xvii).

The framework through which Fisher shapes the book is that of globalization - a concept that has been widely theorized for the past two decades, even as the lived experiences that give it meaning continue to change. Throughout the book, Fisher takes a straightforward view on what globalization means. It is primarily a way of understanding points of encounter in which people are drawn ever nearer each other, at once literally and figuratively: "the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across time and space" (5). The book at times waxes nostalgic, but is also - true to Fisher's ethnographic eye - committed to being an honest, detailed recounting of how things were then and how things are now, as he and his Nepali and fellow American interlocutors engage in the "dialectical process of globalizing and being globalized" (185).

Chapter One begins with John F Kennedy's eponymous call to "ask not what your country can do for you..." and goes on to describe the circumstances under which the Peace Corps was envisioned. Fisher also frames the book as a whole, including some discussions of the political economy and idealism that made such a venture possible, and the anthropological theories that help drive Fisher's understanding of the Peace Corps experience. In Chapter Two readers travel alongside Fisher and the other volunteers who formed Peace Corps 1, examining their backgrounds and motivations. In Chapter Three, the real sense of "Nepal 1" takes form as Fisher describes the early training of this group, first at George Washington University in Washington D.C., through an Outward Bound program in Colorado, and, finally, as they arrive in Nepal.

Chapters Four and Five mirror each other. The first of these chapters explores what happened after Nepal 1 arrived: how they found living in Kathmandu, how and why they were posted in specific locations, and most of all how they came to engage with Nepali communities when they were often under-prepared or unclear on what it was they were supposed to be doing. Some took to the challenges of intervening in rural Nepali agriculture or the educational system with thoughtfulness, some with naïve zeal, and others with trepidation. There are some hilarious recountings of cultural *faux pas*, most of them involving barnyard animals and well meaning PCVs. Chapter Five is Fisher's take on the ways that Nepali

individuals, families, and institutions navigated these cross-cultural encounters and their own sense of what "globalization" and "development" might have meant at the time. This chapter also raises the question of who benefits from having PCVs in-country. What was in it for Nepal and Nepalis?

The final two chapters of the book follow a similar pattern. Chapter Six is more focused on the experiences of Americans from Nepal 1 after they returned from their two years in-country, and Chapter Seven focuses on the ways that globalization has impacted Nepal and Nepalis, but also, equally, about how Nepal 1 volunteers continued to reference their years in Nepal throughout their lives. Although few from this first cohort of volunteers have had as an extensive, ongoing relationship with Nepal as Fisher, some did. It is worth mentioning that Mike Frame, of Mike's Breakfast, the Kathmandu restaurant - er, *institution* - was among the cohort of nearly eighty eager individuals who made the trek to Nepal in 1962.

At times the book reads a bit like stepping into a scrapbook, with more quotidian detail than is perhaps necessary to the initiated or the uninitiated, for different reasons. Yet the book rings true in the places where Fisher prompts us, through the looking glass of his own experiences and those of others, to consider what we noticed the first time and still notice in contemporary moments of cross-cultural exchange what has become routine; where the social, cultural, and political-economic unevenness still lies; how friendships are forged and maintained; and how we come to accept that there are many ways to be and act in the world, and that there is never one right answer.

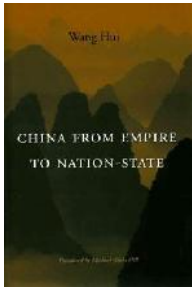
In his Conclusion, Fisher says:

What we did is not necessarily what we thought we were doing at the time. Our earnest desire to do good - i.e., to *accomplish* good - could be equally and ultimately doomed to fail, and some seem to have concluded something like that. We thought we were going to save the world but most of us came to the gradual realization that we were only, or at least mainly, saving ourselves... Whether the Peace Corps helped the world or not it did change many American lives profoundly and that was, and continues to be, a good thing (181).

True enough.

REVIEW: *CHINA FROM EMPIRE TO NATION-STATE*

Reviewed by Tristan G Brown (Columbia University)



Wang Hui (Michael Gibbs Hill, translator). 2014. *China from Empire to Nation-State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ISBN 9780674046955 (hardcover 29.95USD), ASIN B00O1SZEM6 (Kindle 21.49USD). xiv+179 pp. Translator's Introduction, Index.

Michael Gibbs Hill's excellent translation of the introduction to Wang Hui's four-volume opus, *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* 现代中国思想的兴起 provides a substantial contribution to scholars of China and intellectual historians by bringing another of Wang Hui's critical works into English (for other such examples, see Wang and Hutters 2003 and 2011). The task of translating could not have been easy, as Wang Hui frequently cites works from Chinese antiquity and translated texts from abroad, making Hill's results truly exceptional. The translation is accessible and painstakingly executed, with many important phrases explained for non-specialists alongside transliterated key terms. *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* demonstrates the need for translation work in the fields of area studies by making the important works of non-English speakers available to Anglophone audiences. As Zhang Yongle pointed out in his review on the work *in toto*, "It can safely be said that nothing comparable to Wang Hui's work has appeared in China since the late Qing-early Republican period" (Zhang 2010:71). Wang Hui, while exploring the links between China and its past through the country's rich intellectual traditions, manages to deftly discuss China in global terms and historical contexts. Hill's helpful introduction contextualizes Wang's writing style in the zeitgeist of the post-Tiananmen period from 1990 to 2010.

Brown, Tristan G. 2016. Review: *China from Empire to Nation State*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:435-446.

Chapter One, 'Two Narratives of China and Their Derivative Forms' identifies the tensions between two conceptions of Chinese modernity. One school that came to prominence in mid-century Japan, the Kyoto School, represented by Naitō Konan and Miyazaki Ichisada, argued that early modernity began in East Asia during the Northern Song (960-1127). This, in turn, explained later political developments in Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan. Paralleling the identification by scholars such as Harold Berman of the "modern" legal institutions and bureaucratic states in Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Kyoto School read the Northern Song as a well-structured early modern state, with an early modern religion (secular Confucianism), an early modern educational system, and capitalized markets (Berman 1983). Another trend of thought that Wang Hui sees in the works of Chinese Marxists, John Fairbank (the stimulus-response model), and Max Weber, asserts that China's modernization as beginning with the Sino-Western encounter, wherein China's legal, economic, political, and ethical systems were viewed as obstacles to the development of capitalism. Wang continues by parsing the tensions inherent in terms such as "Chinese colonialism," "Han colonialism," and "Qing imperialism" by tracing different genealogies of imperialism, and the tensions present in the two aforementioned approaches.

Chapter Two 'The Empire/Nation-State Binary and European World History', looks at the complex, trans-lingual origins of nineteenth and twentieth century Chinese terminologies for empire and nation-state (Liu 1995). Here, Wang Hui illustrates how empire as an analytical category for describing China came to prominence only in opposition to the nation-state, wherein national self-determination was positioned against the military despotism of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-lingual empires. Echoing Said, Wang Hui points out that the category of empire as applied to China in the nineteenth century was typically used in Asian contexts to emphasize the country's "backward" nature and failed to consider the role of acculturation in frontier territories in expanding the boundaries of China over the centuries (Said 1978).

Chapter Three 'Heavenly Principle/Universal Principle and History' outlines the history of *li* 理 'principle' from the "Heavenly Principle" of Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism to the "Universal Principle" that replaced it at the turn of the twentieth century. Affirming Peter Bol's identification of intellectual transformations from the Tang to Song, which saw the concept of *shi* 士 change from men of good birth to men of high culture, Wang Hui pushes back against both Kyoto School intellectuals who read progressive ideologies into Neo-Confucianism and May Fourth intellectuals who rejected Confucianism as irredeemably backwards (Bol 1994). The "Heavenly Principle" instead, reads models for the present into Chinese antiquity by setting standards for both emperor and subject for good governance and moral conduct through self-cultivation. Finally, through examining the works of Yan Fu (1854-1921), Liang Qichao (1873-1929), and Zhang Taiyan (1869-1936), Wang Hui delineates the "Universal Principle." This new principle, which was intimately joined with scientific discourses, emphasized future political apotheosis over an idealized antiquity while bifurcating facts from values in reordering epistemological frameworks and systems of morality.

While it would be obvious to emphasize the discontinuity in this restructuring of Chinese genealogies of knowledge, Wang Hui identifies subtle, contingent relationships between the two. Whereas "Heavenly Principle" took its ideal as the past, "Universal Principle" emphasized a linear, progressive future in which *ziran* 'Nature', now an objective reality, became artificially segregated from culture (Wang 2014:100). Precisely because both approaches retained the notion of *li* 'principle', the possibility that connections and debates from China's history could and can be invoked in the present, persists.

The final chapter, 'China's Modern Identity and the Transformation of Empire', examines the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Qing Empire and changing notions of sovereignty against Benedict Anderson's theory of the socially constructed "imagined communities" of nations in the twentieth century. Wang

Hui argues that the rise of literacy and the creation of shared national culture through print capitalism that Anderson identifies as essential for the creation of conscious political communities, does not particularly fit China. Instead, Wang Hui points out, somewhat akin to dynamics recently explored by Matthew Mosca and Li Chen, that new channels of geographic knowledge and dynamics of unequal treaty-based sovereignty under semi- (or hypo-) colonialism served, among other factors, to create a definition of [Greater] 'China' as a legally-recognized, autonomous state with vast geographic possibilities (Mosca 2013; Li 2016; Goodman 2004; Rogaski 2004).

Turning to the state-building movements in the twentieth century, Wang Hui builds on Philip Kuhn's (2002) well-known work on the extractive challenges of an industrializing economy that informed reform agendas in the decades prior to Collectivization under the Communists by concluding that "they moved in the direction of eliminating foundational social organizations and institutional diversity" (Wang 2014:136). Calling the Chinese revolution and "the ideology that came from it" "the most important phenomenon in twentieth century world history" certainly stresses the necessity of theorizing Modern China on its own terms in ways that relate to global contexts, as Wang Hui has so ably done (Wang 2014:142).

Michael Gibbs Hill provides an important contribution to the field by making Wang Hui accessible to classroom audiences and non-China specialists. Wang Hui's ability to connect and convey diverse strains of Chinese thought that speak to the problems associated with "modernity" builds on efforts by Rebecca Karl (2002) to de-center the origins of Chinese nationalism from a purely Japan-Western axis.

One issue that Wang Hui addresses under this rubric is the question of national consciousness and early twentieth century print culture. Wang Hui pushes back against the idea that "Chinese" as an encompassing category can be explained through Anderson's work on the creation of "imagined" national communities. Anderson's framework may well work better for some *minzu* 'ethnic groups'

living within China, as Thomas Mullaney (2010) has insightfully shown. By arguing that the development of print capitalism in China should be read as one of several conditions for the "modern renewal of Chinese identity" (Wang 2014:104) in a post imperial context, Wang Hui provides a thought-provoking, re-reading of Anderson's work as it pertains to China.

Wang Hui is well aware of scholarship on "New Qing History" (Millward 1998; Rawski 1998; Crossley 1999; Elliott 2001) and engages with some of the complex forces that brought contemporary China into existence. His impressive enterprise of focusing on a centuries-long, Chinese intellectual tradition that could be loosely characterized as "Confucian" bears witness to the remarkable distinction in Chinese history between how empire-building occurred on the ground and how such activities were discussed by literati elites. For the late imperial period, this is particularly true for periods prior to the Jiaqing Reign (1796-1820), when non-bannermen began exerting a more pronounced intellectual influence in the governance of regions that were not historically Chinese (Mosca 2011). Confucianism was publically attacked for much of twentieth century Chinese history, thus it is particularly interesting to see how the author searches for the foundations of a "Chinese modernity" in these texts. While this Confucian tradition gives Wang Hui much material to draw from, one of the challenges that New Qing History has brought to the table is questioning whether the forces that enabled China's successful ability to retain its imperial territories into the present can be understood through Chinese language sources alone. Further exploring the roles of Manchu, Mongol, Uyghur, and Tibetan language sources, as well as the positions of Buddhism and Daoism in the development of Modern China, are certainly exciting avenues of future inquiry.

One example of such a complication that might be integrated into future work is the "priest-patron" relationship (Tib. *mchod-yon*) that, like many of the conceptual frameworks introduced in Wang Hui's study, does not translate easily into Western notions of sovereignty. First introduced by the Tanguts (Ch. Xixia) and adopted

by the Mongols under the Yuan, the "priest-patron" relationship connected Tibet's religious hierarchs with secular leaders. As Elliot Sperling (1994) and Johan Elverskog (2006) have discussed, there are historical limitations in applying such models to explain the integration of certain groups into imperial territories, however, from the Yuan to the twentieth century, the Tibetan Buddhist world monastically stretched from Beijing to Mongolia, the Tibetan Plateau, and northwestern Yunnan.

The history of Tibetan-Chinese relations is well documented and is of great importance to Beijing-Inner Asian relations. The Fifth Karmapa (1384-1415) visited Nanjing during the early Ming (Berger 2001). For centuries, the Yuan-era Tibetan-Mongol "White Stupa Temple" was the tallest building in Beijing, a city founded by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Wang Hui deftly addresses the need to explore such factors in discussing the evolution of Modern China. He writes:

In discussing the meaning of the concept of "China," we must ask the following questions: Once the Xianbei, Tuoba, Muslims, Jewish people, and other groups took power or migrated to China proper, how were they gradually fused into a larger social community? And when forced to live among others, how did they maintain their own identity? Once these groups had defeated and conquered the dynasties of China proper, why did northern peoples – including Mongolians and Manchus – transform themselves into Chinese dynasties, establishing a multipolar framework of power within a set period of time and scope? (Wang 2014:115)¹

By directing his critical inquiry of understanding "China" in historical terms towards its minority peoples, Wang Hui opens the door for dialogue with scholars outside of China who in recent years have turned towards similar questions. In an earlier chapter, Wang Hui

¹ On how some of these groups maintained and fostered their own identity, see Benite (2005).

asks a related question of great profundity that speaks directly to his delineating the Chinese genealogies of empire and empire-building:

...the Qing dynasty authorized and encouraged Han people to immigrate to southeastern regions such as Yunnan and Guizhou, which resulted in large-scale conflicts with the Miao and Hui peoples and a series of major disasters. (For example, conflicts in Yunnan that took place in the 1870s resulted in a 90 percent decline in the local Hui population.) Was this result the product of "Chinese colonialism," "Han colonialism," or the product of the Qing imperial system and the processes of its transformation? (Wang 2014:19)

These are critical questions, not just for their own substance and value, but for the dating of when they became questions for people thinking about Chinese history. The Ming Dynasty produced a series of Sino-Persian dictionaries and literary anthologies such as the *Huihuiguan yiyu* 回回馆译语 '*The Translations of the Muslims' Office*' and the *Huihuiguan zazi* 回回馆杂字 '*The Miscellaneous Words of the Muslims' Office*', which were aimed at facilitating diplomatic contacts with a number of countries. These countries are identified as the *Tianfangguo* 天方国, including Hami, Turpan, Badakhshan, Balkh (in contemporary Afghanistan), Damascus, Egypt, Khorasan, and Samarqand (Wu and Zhang 2010:87-95; 235-237). The linguistic guide is well-worth study in its own right, but the Persian language words for two Chinese provinces are specifically of interest to Wang Hui's questions.

Alongside a list of exonyms surrounding the Great Ming, such as Pr. *tan'ghūt*: 'Tanguts', Ch. Hexi 河西 'The Hexi Corridor', and Pr. *jūrjī*, Ch. *nūzhi* 女直 'Jurchens', are listed two Chinese provinces in their Persian-language names: Pr. *qaryānī*; Ch. Yunnan 云南 'Yunnan Province' and Pr. *kinjānfū* (Ch. Shaanxi 陕西 'Shaanxi Province', 'Qinzhou 秦州'). No other Chinese provinces are listed. This dictionary, together with its appended Persian-language letters, may be some of the strongest known evidence that Persian-language

speakers held positions of power in these provinces through the early to mid-Ming.

Wang Hui is particularly persuasive when positioning his questions of minority communities in China as intimately related to the evolution of Modern China. We might note that a number of Mongol legacies (regulations on marital laws, Beijing as the imperial capital, the "priest-patron" relationship, the growth of Sino-Muslim communities in frontier pivot-points such as Yunnan, among many others) influenced Chinese states long after the collapse of the Yuan, even if some such legacies were not at the center of literati, public, or academic discourses until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

One work for future studies that also underscores some of the gaps between late imperial statecraft and Confucian discourses is *Yesou puyan* 野叟曝言 'Humble Words of a Rustic Elder' c. 1780), written by Xia Jingqu (1705-1787), a Jiangsu native. Though composed around the time of Cao Xueqin's 红楼梦 *Hong Lou Meng* (A Dream of Red Mansions), *Yesou puyan* did not become well-known until the 1880's (Epstein 2001). Set in the Ming Dynasty, the novel follows the career of Wen Suchen, who discovers upon his trips to the capital that foreign Buddhist monks have brought heterodox teachings to Beijing, where the emperor has fallen under their spell. In promoting an orthodox Confucian vision, the novel can be read as a thinly veiled critique of the presence of Tibetan and Mongolian influences in the Manchu court. Political unrest and official corruption are ascribed to these teachings, which the novel characterizes as permeating the wider world beyond China. Speaking to Gray Tuttle's (2005) work on Tibetan Buddhism as a common language for Asian nation-building in the twentieth century, the novel may point to the idea that some governing forces in China's past often existed outside of, or at least were in tension with, the intellectual purview of the Confucian tradition at the heart of this important study.

The wide-ranging questions that Wang Hui poses in this well-translated introduction to his major 2004 opus have no easy answers, but they are pertinent to many contemporary debates. "Forms of

sovereignty, models of identity, and global relations created by modern revolutions are currently facing a deep and wide-ranging crisis" in the wake of the "penetration of the global economy into every corner of the world" (Wang 2014:143). Given this fact, Wang Hui makes a persuasive case for examining imperial processes and conceptual frameworks of statecraft in Chinese history. In doing so, he joins the ranks of Partha Chatterjee (1993) and Gayatri Spivak (1999) for seminally contributing to the field of Post-Colonial Studies, while also speaking to the scholarly legacy of Ali Shariati² (1980) by providing a genealogical re-reading of the Chinese Revolution through the dynamism of the country's own intellectual traditions (Rahnema 2000).

² 1933-1977.

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REVIEW: *IN THE LAND OF THE EASTERN QUEENDOM:
THE POLITICS OF GENDER AND ETHNICITY ON THE
SINO-TIBETAN BORDER*

Reviewed by Robert Entenmann (St. Olaf College)



Tenzin Jinba. 2014. *In the Land of the Eastern Queendom: The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity on the Sino-Tibetan Border*. Studies on Ethnic Groups in China. Seattle: University of Washington Press. xviii + 170. Maps, notes, glossary of Chinese characters, bibliography, index. ISBN: 978-0295993065 (hardcover, 75USD), 978-0295993072 (papercover, 30USD).

This intriguing anthropological study examines local culture and politics in Suopo Township, Danba County, Ganze (Dkar mdzes, Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 甘孜藏族自治州丹巴县梭坡乡 in western Sichuan, and the township's claim to be the site of the capital of a matriarchal "Eastern Queendom" that may or may not have existed there a thousand years ago. A neighboring town, supported by county authorities, disputes the claim, and the historical record is by no means clear. The stakes – a lucrative ethnic tourist trade – are high, but the dispute also has become an issue defining the cultural identity of the Suopowa 'people of Suopo'. Tenzin Jinba's work offers new perspectives on ethnic representation, gender and ethnic identity, civil associations, and collective action in Southwest China.

Suopo is marginal in a fourfold way. Part of ethnic Tibet, the town is marginal to China (and to Sichuan Province, for that matter). Located in the Khams region, and on the Han-Tibetan frontier, Suopo is also marginal to Tibet. Moreover, the Suopowa are only marginally Khampa: they speak the rGyalrong dialect (and often Chinese as well) Entenmann, Robert. 2016. Review: *In the Land of the Eastern Queendom: The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity on the Sino-Tibetan Border*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:447-450.

and many follow the Bon religion rather than Dge lugs Buddhism. They are "marginalized Tibetans," whom mainstream Tibetans see as outsiders. But the government classifies the rGyalrong people as Zangzu or Tibetan - an ethnic category created, of course, by the central government - and the rGyalrong regard themselves as authentic Tibetans. Living in Ganze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, the Suopowa are even marginal to the rGyalrong, most of whom live in neighboring Aba (Rnga ba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture. Jinba, Professor of Anthropology at Lanzhou University, an American-trained rGyalrong anthropologist, describes himself as both an "insider from the outside and an outsider from the inside" (16). He personally exemplifies the complexity of ethnic and cultural identity.

Suopo's claim to the Eastern Queendom is based on ambiguous and unclear references in four dynastic histories, and the textual evidence suggests that this polity may in fact have been located in Chab mdo, or even as far away as the Pamirs. Suopo Township leaders, especially the local cadre and amateur scholar "Uncle Pema," fervently support Suopo's claim in conflict with county officials who support the claims of another town.

Chapter Two, 'Masculine and Feminine Internal Others in China', places this issue within the context of gender and representation of ethnicity in China. Jinba discusses two works of fiction by Han authors that represent sexualized Others. *Lang tuteng* 狼图腾 *Wolf Totem*, a highly-acclaimed novel by Jiang Rong 姜戎, presents a hyper-masculinized Mongol identity in contrast to weak Han men. *Yuanfang you ge nüguo* 远方有个女国 '*The Remote Country of Women*' by Bai Hua 白桦 represents the Mosuo 摩梭 people of Yunnan as promiscuous and, incidentally, matriarchal. Mosuo women's reputation for free love, exploited by the tourist industry, makes them the object of Han men's desire. In both novels minority Others are sexualized.

Chapter Three shows how Suopo people use gender to define themselves to outsiders. Initially they sought to attract tourists by promoting the area as the Meirengu 美人谷 '*Valley of Beauties*',

sponsoring beauty contests and the Jiarong fengqing jie 嘉绒风情节 'rGyalrong Charm Festival'. This soon led to growing anxiety over the threat that sexual tourism would corrupt local society. The male leadership of Suopo – ironically, women had little role in this – began drawing on the tradition of matriarchal rule and emphasized the political wisdom and superiority of women. They engaged in a strategic "self-feminization," influenced by the gender equality rhetoric of the socialist state. This representation was manipulated by elite Suopo men to attract tourists and enhance their social and economic position. At the same time, this narrative of matriarchy and women's superiority came into tension with the masculine self-image of the Khampas, a conflict that seems not to have been resolved.

Chapters Four and Five demonstrate how this controversy is played out in grassroots politics and offer insights into the relationship between the state and local interests. Suopo leaders pursue their interests by appealing to the agenda of the central state and regarding it as an ally against county officials. They view the center - Beijing - as the protector of their legitimate interests, as opposed to the local officials from whom they are often alienated. Jinba examines the role of the Moluo 莫洛 Tourism Association (Moluo is a village within Suopo Township). A *minjian shetuan* 民间社团 'popular association' created by local authorities, the association advocates for Suopo's Queenship claims and operates somewhere between state and society. At the same time, the association is riven by factions and personal conflicts. Nonetheless, as a "quasi-state agency and quasi-civil society," the Moluo Tourism Association "plays a role in connecting the local society and the state and in creating free space in which marginalized townspeople can voice grievances and press various political claims" (116).

Jinba's concise and well-argued work has wide appeal. It augments our knowledge of the understudied rGyalrong people. Moreover, it offers insights into the relationship of the Chinese state to local society and civil society. Most significantly, it describes the ways that ethnic tourism shapes culture and ethnic identity and

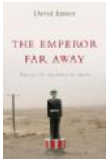
complicates our understanding of how gender affects ethnic representation in China.

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REVIEW: *THE EMPEROR FAR AWAY:
TRAVELS AT THE EDGE OF CHINA*

Reviewed by Jonathan Z. Ludwig (Rice University)



David Eimer. 2014. *The Emperor Far Away: Travels at the Edge of China*. New York: Bloomsbury. xiii + 336. Maps, introduction, further reading, acknowledgments, index. ISBN: 978-1-62040-363-1 (hardcover, 28USD).

The Emperor Far Away is the travelogue of David Eimer, who formerly served as the Beijing correspondent for the *Sunday Telegraph* and as a writer for the Hong Kong-based *South China Morning Post* during his years living in the People's Republic of China (2005-2012). During this time, Eimer traveled the length of the country's borders in an effort to understand the China away from the big eastern cities and coastal regions. In this volume, he sets out to explain these hinterlands to his readers, most of whom, he assumes, only know of China from reports about and from major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai.

With a border of over 22,000 kilometers (13,000 miles) that connects China to fourteen independent nations and two special administrative regions, Hong Kong and Macau. Travel along the largest number of border entities of any country in the world - China's periphery - and travel along it is a true opportunity to test the Chinese adage, from which the book gets its title, that sums up the government's fears concerning their borderlands: "The mountains are high and the emperor is far away." Lands far from the center resemble the center less and less and, in a tightly controlled state such as China, are harder to watch and to control. Eimer's travels vindicate both of these suppositions. In addition, they help to explain why the ruling, predominantly-Han Communist Party is so obsessed with populating these regions with increasingly large number of ethnic Han and finding ways to tighten their hold in these lands.

Ludwig, Jonathon Z. 2016. Review: *The Emperor Far Away: Travels at the Edge of China*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:451-454.

After an introduction, the book is divided into four sections: 'Xinjiang-The New Frontier', 'Tibet-The Wild West', 'Yunnan-Trouble in Paradise', and 'Dongbei-Pushing the Boundaries'. While the first three are focused on the specific provinces mentioned in their titles, the final section encompasses the rest of his travels in the northeast of the country, including along the North Korean border, and from where he ultimately exits China and enters Russia.

Eimer's purpose in his travels is to visit with members of several of the fifty-five officially recognized minority ethnic groups in China, see how they live and relate to the Han Chinese, and then cross the border to examine ethnically similar peoples in contiguous regions. The two best known ethnic groups in the West are the Tibetans and the Uyghurs. The former are known because of the Dalai Lama and the fondness some in the West have for him and for Buddhism. The latter are known for being Muslim and, hence, "dangerous." This is used as tacit support of a Hanization policy and an increasingly brutal crackdown on the Uyghur population throughout the country. The issue with Tibet is trickier to handle from a public relations standpoint if such things were considered; however, in Tibet the same heavy-handed approach is used as in Xinjiang.

The point Eimer makes, almost in passing, is that in some ways, these are the two least dangerous of the four regions he visits. Both areas are geographically isolated, physically challenging places to live and work, sparsely populated, and are primarily home to only one ethnic minority that can be easily segregated and watched. On the other hand, Yunnan Province, which is held up as a location where "model" ethnicities live, is rife with smugglers, who bring drugs, child brides, and, potentially, weapons across the border, all of which would seem to pose a greater threat to the long-term stability of the Beijing government than disaffected Buddhist monks. This connection is one Eimer fails to make.

Likewise, the Koreans in Dongbei 'the Northeast', who, as Eimer discovers, have a higher standard of living than other ethnic minorities inside China. They are also possibly the only minority group doing better in China than their counterparts across the

border. Dongbei Koreans face the daily challenge of what may happen if the North Korean government falls and the starving population tries to storm across the border. While this is a fear that Beijing certainly has, this does not come across in the book, and Beijing is less heavy-handed here, feeling that they have adequately assimilated the local populace into greater China.

Entering Russia from the northeast, another border region far from the center of its ruling country, demonstrates the veracity of a Russian adage, similar to the aforementioned Chinese saying: "God is in his heaven, and the Tsar is far away." This is a region that closely resembles the Chinese borderlands Eimer has left behind. It is outside the strong and direct control of its center and it does not demographically resemble its center - the European Russia of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Instead, it is more Asiatic than Russian, and it is subject to the growing influence of those on the other side of the border. In this case it is the Chinese, who once arguably owned these lands and increasingly want them back, who are exerting this cultural and economic impact. Eimer thus ends his journey in a part of the world that the Chinese are subjecting to the very pressures that they fear in their own periphery. This could be the topic of another, perhaps more academically rigorous book.

In the end, although an interesting read, the book suffers from a lack of focus and solid conclusions, particularly when considered from an academic point of view. For example, nowhere does Eimer make a clear connection between the treatment of many non-Han Chinese citizens, their feelings toward Beijing, and economic empowerment. For example, the Dai in Yunnan Province and the Koreans in Dongbei are economically empowered; hence, they are less resentful and do not need to be "controlled" by a heavy hand. Other ethnic groups seem to be kept out of the growing Chinese economy. The example of two Uyghur engineers working as barbers because the Chinese-run companies will not hire non-Han is only one example in one part of the country. Likewise, Eimer does not make the connection between the near-extinction of Manchu as a language - only about one hundred people still speak the language inside of China - and their complete assimilation by the Han as the ultimate

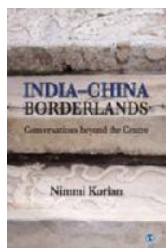
goal that Beijing has for all its ethnic groups. This is a fear that many ethnic minorities also have, particularly in Tibet.

Instead, Eimer makes reference to his 1988 trip to the outskirts of China, but this book is not a retracing of that trip. It also is not a comparative study of the two trips beyond a few observations along the way. Such a comparison would have made for an interesting academic study and, as a reporter, he could have gathered resources to complete it. Rather, the book contains smatterings of history tossed together with presentations of current life and a number of travel stories from which he makes generalizations on life in the various regions through which he travels. While some of his generalizations are on target, they are presented as conclusions based on anecdotal evidence and conversations with a very limited number of people. Eimer himself also plays too big of a role in two events. While he could make a case for discussing his use of *yaba* in Wa State, there seems to be no reason to discuss having sex with a Chinese woman during his time in Kashgar. This story, at least, should have been subject to self-editing if not that of the professional kind.

Readers with a casual interest in modern China, or those who want a basic familiarization with the borderlands of China might find this book a place to satisfy their curiosity, but budding scholars or those who wish a more in-depth analysis should look beyond this tome.

Review: *India-China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the Centre*

Reviewed by Jonathan Z. Ludwig (Rice University)



Nimmi Kurian. 2014. *India-China Borderlands: Conversations Beyond the Centre*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd. xix + 175. Maps, abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, references, index, about the author. ISBN: 978-81-321-1351-5 (hardcover, 49.95USD).

When most people think of China, they often think of Beijing, Shanghai, and the other heavily populated and highly developed coastal regions of the country. When considering India, they most often think of the large cities of Delhi, Mumbai, and Kolkata. In *India-China Borderlands* Nimmi Kurian, a member of the Asian Borderlands Research Initiative's network of scholars, asks us instead to consider the frontier parts of both nations: where they meet, where they are most sparsely populated, yet also most ethnically diverse, and where they are generally the most economically underdeveloped.

Relations between India and China have most often been examined at the nation-to-nation or the city-to-city level, and exclusively as defined by the centers, with the peripheries all but ignored. Kurian's goal in *India-China Borderlands* is to rectify this neglected region of study and comparatively examine how the Chinese and Indian governments treat their hinterlands and how they are attempting to develop them. Where the two countries meet is particularly interesting because the borders are considered inherently flexible by their residents. This relates to the large number of ethnic groups who at times feel closer to their counterparts on the other side of the border than to those of the majority ethnic group who live in and rule from the center. Meanwhile, the center of both nations deem them to be absolute and inviolable geopolitical demarcations, at least in so far as they are able to agree on where the actual borders should be located. The centers fear that these areas are unstable, so Delhi

^Ludwig, Jonathon Z. 2016. Review: *The Emperor Far Away: Travels at the Edge of China*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:455-458.

and Beijing have laid out plans to stabilize them, reducing regional disparities and raising the socio-economic profiles of their respective sides of the border.

The present study is divided into five chapters: 'Fences and Frames: Narrativising the Borderlands', 'B/Ordering Spaces: Governing Multi-ethnic Borderlands', 'Barriers to Bridges: Geoeconomic Text', 'Geopolitical Subtext, Competing or Compatible?' 'Interrogating India-China Subregional Visions', and 'Fugitive Frames: Rewriting Research Peripheries'.

Kurian starts her introductory chapter with a basic presentation of the problem to be discussed. Both China, through its Western Development Strategy, and India, through its Look East policy as laid out in the policy document Northeast Vision 2020, have pushed state-directed investments on the sub-regional level in the border regions of their respective countries in both economic and socio-political spheres, utilizing a "prosperity discourse" and an infusion of resources. This book asks us to consider whether and, if so, how these separate plans coincide and, in so doing, to examine three research questions: 1) How can the focus of problem-solving be shifted to the sub-regional/ local level and on issues specifically relevant to these lands? And what institutions can be created to ensure shared risk and reward? 2) How can China and India individually balance sub-regional economics with legitimate geopolitical concerns especially when they are not easily reconciled, always keeping in mind the ultimate goal of sharing a peaceful border? 3) How can theories from disparate sets of academic disciplines be brought together to study the borderlands? Ultimately Kurian hopes that the borderlands can be at the center of a new dialogue between China and India by providing answers to the first two questions with research derived from the third.

Kurian proceeds with a historical overview of the challenges of state control and state-building initiatives as seen through the lens of the numerous empires that tried to bring these contemporary borderlands under their control and of the cosmopolitanism that traditionally existed here from the time of the Silk Road when people freely interacted with each other across any borders. She discusses

how both China and India have approached these historical legacies and their questions and challenges in trying to deal with present realities. In particular, she investigates how they approach economic and cultural issues in trying to balance the past with the future.

From here she moves into a discussion of how China and India have separately used the borders as bridges to influence others, particularly the lands immediately across the borders. In most instances this influence, which has the potential to be transformational, centers around the three Ts: trade, tourism, and transport. The important point she makes here is that decisions concerning all these issues come from the center. The borderlands themselves are not part of the decision-making process - everything is top-down. She concludes the third section by stating that this needs to change - the borderlands themselves, through a bottom-up process, must be part of this discussion moving forward.

In the penultimate chapter, Kurian poses the question of whether India's and China's sub-regional visions for the borderlands will coincide or not, with the implicit desire that they do. In order for this to happen, China and India will have to agree on issues such as what will define peace in the region, common values that will inform future cooperative decisions, and how to define the sub-regions. Furthermore, she again notes that both nations will need to de-center control of the borderlands, allowing both governance and diplomacy to stem from the regions themselves. Her hope is that from this, regional institutions will spring up that can and will work across the borders more effectively than has been done from the center, where larger geopolitical issues can scuttle local desires and needs.

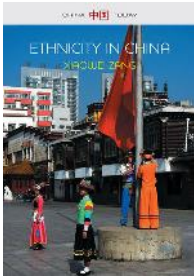
While the first four chapters are geared toward policy-making decisions and directed at those who wish to make them or become involved in making them, the final chapter is geared toward strictly academic questions and members of the academy who ask them. Namely, Kurian sets out to create a new discourse through which the borderlands will no longer be marginalized in favor of studying larger players and actors. She hopes instead to create an alternative means of study in which scholars will re-imagine the borderlands as actors

in the decision-making process, who are able to manage and plan for their own futures.

This book represents a strong academic study of the Sino-Indian borderlands and is important reading for anyone interested in this vital and potentially unstable region. If there are drawbacks, then there are arguably two: first, the use of academic jargon, rather than a clear, jargon-free style, makes this a rough read in spots and could make this a difficult read for anyone outside the academy, for example, policy makers, who are looking for additional information on these lands. In addition, it would be a stronger study if there were an in-depth discussion of the Sino-Indian border disputes, their history, and the potential for continued disputes to disrupt the progress that has been made in the borderlands and what they might mean for future cooperation and coordination across the border. After all, it would seem to the casual observer of the region that much of the driving force behind government investment in these lands is a fear of what could come from the other side. Despite these two issues, for regional experts or for those who wish to become regional experts, this is a very good place to continue or begin their studies.

Review: *Ethnicity in China: A Critical Introduction*

Reviewed by Tricia Kehoe (University of Nottingham)



Zang Xiaowei. 2015. *Ethnicity in China: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Xxix + 190. One map, chronology, preface, acknowledgements, abbreviations, bibliography, index. ISBN: 978-0-7456-5361-7. Hardcopy = 62.50EURO; Paperback = 20EURO.

Ethnicity in China, the latest in the China Today series, is an ambitious book, seeking to provide a panoramic overview of the defining issues of state-ethnic minority relations in the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the context of immense social and political transformations since 1949, with particular emphasis on the post-1978 reform era.

Written by Zang Xiaowei, Chair Professor of Social Sciences at City University of Hong Kong and highly renowned scholar in Chinese ethnicity studies, the book explores the role of China's nationality policy and the many ways in which it has impacted and continues to impact state-ethnic minority relations in China. Relying on an extensive range of existing documentary sources including scholarly articles, books, and such official PRC sources as government white papers and statistics, Zang aims to identify, describe, and analyse the guiding ideology underlying the state's approach to the fifty-five officially recognized ethnic minorities residing within the PRC.

Drawing from both historical and cultural perspectives on ethnic relations in China, Zang's core arguments rest on the significance of *ronghe* 'amalgamation' in policy-making on ethnic minority rights in China. Heavily influenced by Confucian legacies, *ronghe* celebrates and promotes the acculturation and assimilation of

Kehoe, Tricia. 2016. Review: *Ethnicity in China: A Critical Introduction*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:459-464.

non-Han groups into Han society in the name of an all-encompassing Chinese nation. Throughout the book, Zang consistently argues that this is the primary line of thought that informs and guides the state's governance and management of ethnic minorities.

Opening with a single basic map of the PRC, and a concise chronology of key events in Chinese history since 1894 up to the present, spotlighting those most central to ethnic groups, the book follows with seven well-organized chapters. Skillfully woven throughout each chapter is his core conceptual framework of *ronghe* whose manifestation is traced through issues central to state-ethnic minority relations, such as socio-economic development, regional autonomy, cultural preservation, language promotion, and so on. Zang also succeeds in demonstrating an admirable knowledge and grasp of existing literature in the area of ethnicity studies in China, and the book boasts an impressive bibliography of up-to-date scholarship in the field.

In Chapter One 'The People's Republic of China as a Multinational County', Zang sets his sights on dismantling what he sees as an enduring tendency among many in "the west" to see China as a homogenous entity. He begins by providing a pithy outline of China's fifty-six state-recognized ethnic groups, their various demographics, and the defining role of the state's Ethnic Classification Project in the 1950's in their creation. Yet, while the state has indeed gone to great lengths to identify and recognize the ethnic diversity of its citizenry, Zang argues that this should not be read as a promotion of multiculturalism. Instead, he maintains that from its very inception, informed by Confucianist legacies, the state has upheld a strong assimilationist stance that emphasizes the need for non-Han to unlearn and dispose of their "uncivilized" behaviors and incorporate Han ways. Charting the origins and development of *ronghe* ideology from Sun Yat's Sen's championing of Chinese nationalism based on Han culture through to the forced assimilation that characterized the political radicalism of the Cultural Revolution, and onto the post-1978 emphasis on economic development and national unity, Zang argues persuasively that integration,

assimilation, and acculturation have consistently formed the backbone of state management of ethnic relations.

Chapter Two 'Ethnic Inequality' offers a descriptive and analytical account of ethnic inequality in China. In exploring what the state has done to reduce these inequalities and how effective these efforts have been, Zang's frustration with the state's fixation on socio-economic development as the one-stop solution to nationality problems quickly becomes apparent. Indeed, he bemoans the state's lack of attention to and even outright denial of issues of deep-seated Han prejudice and discrimination often encountered by ethnic minorities. Zang does, however, agree that state promotion of economic development and implementation of affirmative action programs have resulted in ethnic minorities being generally better off in terms of access to public services, education, health care, and so on. Yet, in the wake of post-1978 market reforms, increasing privatization, commodification, competition, and the decline of state enterprises have seen intensifying patterns of income disparity between Han and ethnic minorities. Ultimately, Zang asserts that more efforts by and resources from the government are required to narrow the gap in status attainment between Han Chinese and the ethnic minority groups in the PRC.

In Chapter Three 'Minority Cultures', Zang moves on to address state efforts in the protection and promotion of minority cultures through the multifocal lens of language, literature, religions, and performing arts and crafts. He argues that the state remains highly selective in which elements of minority culture it chooses to promote. Unsurprisingly, cultural elements that foster a sense of national unity, bolster an image of China as a harmonious multicultural society and generally serve the political agenda of the state stand a great deal more chance of being promoted than those deemed to threaten social stability or arouse sub-nationalist sentiment. Besides poor policy design and implementation, and market forces, Zang claims that as long as nationality policy continues to be swayed by the *ronghe* ideology of assimilation and acculturation, official promotion and preservation of minority culture

will at best be of limited success. Nonetheless, he also notes that these forces have failed to deter grassroots efforts in cultural revivals and rising ethnic consciousness among ethnic minorities, showcasing the resilience of minority culture.

Chapter Four 'Regional Autonomy' deals with the politics of regional autonomy arrangements for minority nationalities in China. Mapping out the constitutional evolution of regional autonomy, Zang explores how meaningful regional autonomy is in the PRC today, as well as how and why this differs in different areas according to broader political circumstances. Moreover, he finds that minority officials are often selected not for their popularity or responsiveness, but for loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Yet, even when well represented in the People's Congress and governments of minority areas, the scope for decision-making by minority officials remains limited, with meaningful political power overwhelmingly remaining in the hands of Han CCP secretaries. The chapter also briefly touches on how Han migration into minority regions has affected regional autonomy and exacerbated ethnic tensions. Zang notes that this has led to more frustration among minority areas and strengthened ethnic consciousness. Once again, he attributes these shortcomings in regional autonomy governance to the narrow-sightedness of *ronghe* as a guiding ideology.

In Chapter Five 'Intra- and Inter-Group Differences', Zang seeks to delve deeper beyond state-society and Han-'other' approaches to ethnicity. He examines how and why ethnic groups are treated differently, particularly in terms of the distribution of public goods and services. Emphasizing the variation in socio-economic status, political orientation, family behavior, acculturation, and so on that exist among different ethnic minority groups in the PRC, Zang finds that the more acculturated an ethnic minority group becomes, the less likely Beijing is to reward members of that group. By way of example, he offers a brief but insightful comparative study of the Hui and Uyghur, and argues that the state is motivated to treat a minority group preferentially if it is perceived to be powerful and has the potential to pose a threat to national interests.

In Chapter Six 'Tibet and Xinjiang', perhaps the most interesting of the book, Zang explores why Beijing's nationality policy and *ronghe* ideology have failed to bring about ethnic harmony and unity in Tibet and Xinjiang. Succinctly setting out the historical contexts of both areas, he moves on to examine why, despite rapid economic development, rising ethnic conflict and tensions rather than minority acculturation continue to plague the political and social landscapes in both post-1978 Tibet and Xinjiang. He finds that current economic development favors Han migrants a great deal more than minority interests in both Tibet and Xinjiang, and is thus stimulating rather than alleviating ethnic inequality. The unrest is then further exacerbated by the state's persistence in associating ethnic unrest with foreign interference rather than acknowledging its home-grown roots of perceived relative deprivation, marginalization, and cultural anxieties. Zang concludes the chapter on the pessimistic note that current nationality policy is ill equipped to promote inter-group harmony in these two regions.

The final chapter 'China's Nationality Policy and International Minority Rights' turns to the question of locating China's approach to minority issues within international norms. Zang examines to what degree Beijing has accepted and become socialized into international norms on minority issues and whether there is scope for optimism about existing ethnic inequalities and unrest being resolved in the near future. Outlining the historical development of minority rights in global governance, he begins by considering how well Beijing has socialized into international norms on minority rights and also where it has fallen short. Sanguine about future prospects, Zang suggests that Beijing is showing signs that it may move towards a universal human rights regime that celebrates and promotes diversity, multiculturalism, autonomy, and self-determination. Yet, he is also quick to acknowledge the significant roadblocks that the distinct blend of *ronghe* ideology and Westphalian approach to state sovereignty pose. He concludes on quite a positive though arguably hasty note that, as the PRC becomes increasingly integrated into the international community, Han nationalism will lose its appeal and

desires for democracy, individual liberties, and human rights will win out.

This book will prove immensely useful as an introductory handbook in state-ethnic minority relations. While readers already well versed in Chinese ethnicity studies will likely find little novel here, Zang's treatment of *ronghe* may serve to stimulate new debate on how the ideological underpinnings of state-ethnic minority relations intersect with other well-established conceptual tools in the field such as "internal orientalism" (Schein 1997).

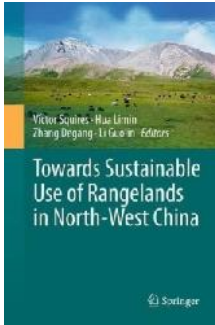
Zang is certainly to be commended on successfully bringing together a huge body of literature and source material on issues of ethnicity in China, and providing an insightful, wide-ranging overview of the defining issues of state-ethnic minority relations in China today. *Ethnicity in China: A Critical Introduction* is strongly recommended for those looking for an accessible, comprehensive, and authoritative overview of key issues shaping state-ethnic relations in contemporary China.

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REVIEW: *TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE USE OF RANGELANDS
IN NORTH-WEST CHINA*

Reviewed by Hilary Howes (Australian National University)



Victor Squires, Hua Limin, Zhang Degang, and Li Guolin (eds). 2010. *Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West China*. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer Science+Business Media B.V. xxxi + 353. 95 figures, 42 tables, 18 boxes, author index, subject index. ISBN: 978-90-481-9621-0 (hardcover, 184.99EUR), 978-90-481-9622-7 (eBook, 154.69EUR).

Based on the program of an international conference held in Lanzhou, China in 2008, *Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West China* offers both an overview of the "extent of resource debasement in China's pastoral zones" and a range of practical solutions for their sustainable use (v). The contributors, a formidable array of academics and policymakers from Australia, Canada, China, the USA, and the Philippines, draw on the substantial body of Chinese-language literature on the topic, thereby helping to "unlock" valuable data previously unavailable to an English-speaking audience.

The rangelands of North-West China are the third largest in the world, covering over three million square kilometers in Inner Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang autonomous regions, and the provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, and Sichuan. Also known as grasslands or pasture lands, they are significant at both the local and global levels. Not only are they vital sources of income for local communities, supporting the world's largest population of sheep and goats and fourth largest population of cattle, they are also recognized as biodiversity "hot spots" and effective carbon sinks. However, as outlined in Chapter One, 'North-West China's Rangelands and Peoples: Facts, Figures, Challenges and Resources', a dramatic increase in livestock numbers since the late 1970s, accompanied by

intensified use of forage resources, has resulted in severe land degradation, lower productivity, and steep declines in biodiversity and carbon sequestration potential. As the health and integrity of rangeland ecosystems diminishes - marked most visibly by encroaching deserts, denuded pastures, and weed invasion - so too does their ability to deliver crucial services underpinning rural livelihoods, notably water flows, nutrient cycling, biomass production, and buffering against extreme weather events.

The difficulties of undertaking remedial action are exacerbated not only by the geographical remoteness of this vast area, but by its extreme diversity. North-West China's rangelands are inhabited by people of many ethnic groups and cultures, and include several autonomous regions. The highly diverse physical, hydrological, and ecological systems of the rangelands are utilized by different rural communities for a range of activities including traditional livestock herding, intensive irrigated cropping of grains, fruits, and fodder; large-scale dairy production; and the extraction of fossil fuels and mineral ores. These various elements, the authors emphasize, do not operate in isolation, but are interconnected: for example,

[s]eemingly unrelated development programs and new policies aimed at agro-industrialization and livestock intensification in the oasis area exert a major impact on rangelands and on herder livelihoods (8).

As the above quotation suggests, past and present policy settings have often served to accelerate land degradation processes. The privatization of former state farms and assignation of grazing user rights in the late 1970s led to fragmentation and reduced the mobility and flexibility characteristic of traditional systems. In the 1980s, many pastoralists responded (logically enough) to China's rapid transition to a market economy by adjusting their herds to whichever size they believed would "make them the most money" (12). Human population growth is placing further pressure on already stressed ecosystems: the relatively high proportion, in pastoral areas,

of minority nationalities not subject to the One Child Policy has resulted in higher population growth compared to other parts of China. Inevitably, there are also administrative and bureaucratic hurdles, including the Ministry of Agriculture's primary focus on expanding output and revenues, the overlap between its mandate and that of the Ministries of Forestry and Water Resources, and attempts by different bureaus, even within one and the same ministry, to implement conflicting policies. And to top it all off, like a poisoned cherry perched precariously on a crumbling cupcake, there is climate change.

Faced with this bleak picture, a casual reader might well despair. Squires and Hua, however, are careful to nourish a few sparks of hope. China's rangelands "are now seen as containing dynamic and highly resilient ecosystems, especially under traditional management of continuous adjustment to the highly variable rainfall" and in areas subjected to grazing bans, the original flora has reappeared, indicating "that the loss of these species is not irreversible" (12). The remaining chapters, fourteen in all, consider the effectiveness of existing policies designed to address rangeland degradation and discuss a broad range of additional strategies.

Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West China is divided into five parts. Part I, 'Rangeland Systems and People under Pressure', comprises two chapters by Squires and Hua. Chapter Two, 'Livestock Husbandry Development and Agro-Pastoral Integration in Gansu and Xinjiang', expands on the introductory survey presented in the first chapter by outlining the two major livestock/ rangeland systems in common use in North-West China - pure grazing, based on seasonal migration from low-lying pastures to alpine and mountain meadows, versus agro-pastoral enterprises, which rely on varying degrees of integration of rangelands and croplands - and assessing efforts to date to address the issue of overgrazing. While past interventions that relied on technical 'solutions' have usually "failed to bring about long term change," "new approaches such as Integrated Ecosystem Management (IEM), whose guiding principle is to allow solutions to *evolve* rather than be imposed from outside" have helped village households find ways to

obtain higher net incomes without over-exploiting rangeland resources (26).

Part II, 'Combating Rangeland Degradation', examines the various options available to arrest and reverse rangeland degradation, focusing in detail on the management of two key elements, livestock and landscapes.

The chapters comprising Part III, 'Achieving the Global Objectives', deal with aspects of biodiversity in North-West China's rangelands, including carbon sequestration and conservation of local livestock breeds.

In Part IV, 'Improving the Profitability and Sustainability of Herding and Farming in the Pastoral Areas of North-West China', the focus shifts to practical measures needed to change the current system. These include trends and innovations in agro-pastoral integration, opportunities to improve animal husbandry practices, the value of better understanding herders' perceptions and expectations through interviews and household surveys, and alternative models of land tenure.

Part V, 'The Way Forward', outlines two innovative approaches. One is centered on environmental education in rural primary and middle schools, the other on redesigning livestock systems in order to simultaneously improve household income and reduce stocking rates. The final chapter summarizes the characteristics and issues judged by the four co-editors to be "most important in the current and future management of environmental resources" in the rangelands of North-West China, outlining key trends over the next two decades and emphasizing the need to ensure that local people have "control and responsibility in the management of their natural resources" (325-326).

This anthology is firmly based on empirical research. Most chapters describe case studies, outlining the methodologies used and discussing the results obtained. For example, Chapter Twelve, 'Land Tenure: Problems, Prospects and Reform', summarizes the results of three contrasting models of tenure tested in Gansu as part of a project jointly funded by the World Bank and Global Environment Facility (GEF), focusing particularly on "a community based management

plan involving 67 households grazing 1,170 ha [hectares] in Gansu" (255). In Chapter Four 'Ecological Control of Rangeland Degradation: Livestock Management', Brant Kirychuk and Bazil Fritz show that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Sustainable Agriculture Development Program was able to increase herders' awareness of numerous possible efficiencies - grazing rotations, herd health programs leading to higher survival and reproductive rates, effective marketing, record keeping and information sharing - by working with selected "demonstration" farms owned by individuals recognized as leaders in their community. Such farms, they suggest, can generate data for future work, serve as the basis for extension programs, and influence others via the "over the fence effect," where "neighbors observe or hear about successful practices and are more willing to try them on their own" (64). In addition, they note the importance of understanding "the history and why the herders are using the current practices they use" before attempting to implement alternatives, a point also made by other contributors (61).

These observations, I suspect, could well be applicable beyond the rangelands of North-West China. They certainly chime with comments I recorded in 2005-2006 while interviewing individuals involved in salinity management in south-eastern Australia's Goulburn Valley, several of whom remarked on the value of community education, the effectiveness of "peer pressure" (local leadership, familiarity, and trust) in encouraging participation, and the need for technical solutions to also be socially acceptable (Howes 2007:49, 94, 96). In fact, given the Australian Landcare movement's status as "one of the most often cited ... 'community-based' agricultural movements and multi-stakeholder partnership[s] in advanced economies" and the "international attention and substantial interest" it has attracted "as a working example of participatory sustainable development," I was surprised to find no reference to it in any of the fifteen chapters of *Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West China* (Wilson 2004:463; Martin and Halpin 1998:449). There is also no real engagement with relevant criticisms of "localist" approaches, such as Jim Woodhill's assertion that the Australian Landcare movement has largely failed to

take into account wider political, economic, institutional, and legal forces "hinder[ing] the resolution of many environmental and development problems solely via the local level" (Woodhill 2010:59).

I was equally surprised to find virtually no mention of the discrimination faced by ethnic minorities in North-West China, notably Uighurs and Tibetans. Squires and Hua briefly mention out-migration as an option to "limit the number of people who rely on grazing for their livelihoods," noting that "its success depends much on alternative employment opportunities and the skills of the affected people" and suggesting increased investment in education "so that the younger generation of the herding families will have the opportunity to start a new career elsewhere" (14). These remarks, though not without merit, fail to take into account recent studies indicating that

Uighurs and Tibetans are staying on the farm, often because discrimination against them makes it difficult to find work in cities ... [e]ven some of the best-educated Uighur and Tibetan migrants struggle to find work (NA 2015; see also Hazmath et al. 2012).

Having said this, overall I found *Towards Sustainable Use of Rangelands in North-West China* to be thoughtful, well structured, informative (effective use is made of maps, tables, and diagrams), and readable. The contributing authors provide an accessible introduction to the challenges facing North-West China's rangelands and document a variety of practical approaches to address these. Recommended for readers with an interest in social and environmental change, mountain ecosystems, and natural resource management.

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REVIEW: *WAR FINANCE AND LOGISTICS IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA*

Reviewed by Lei Duan
(Syracuse University)



Ulrich Theobald. 2013. *War Finance and Logistics in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Second Jinchuan Campaign (1771-1776)*. Leiden: Brill. xiv + 268. 9 illus. 9 tabs. ISBN 978- 90-04-25310-0 (hardcover 134USD).

The tremendous territorial expansion and establishment of direct rule in peripheral areas were two major characteristics of Qing rulership in eighteenth century China. Under the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors, the territorial reach of the Qing was almost double that of the Ming Dynasty, consolidating its control of Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan, and many other regions that Chinese imperial governments had never directly intervened in before. The dynasty's imperial expansion has been widely acknowledged by recent Qing historians, whose works aim to analyze the Qing colonial enterprise from an Inner Asia perspective. It is not difficult for historians of the Qing to locate some important scholarly works on the Qing's strategy in establishing territorial sovereignty, including Millward's *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759-1864* (1998), Perdue's *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (2005), and Dai's *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing* (2009).

Although these influential texts offer comprehensive surveys on Qing military enterprises and impact on society, our understanding of the actual operation in warfare, including logistics, personnel management, and funding remains very limited. Theobald's *War Finance and Logistics in Late Imperial China*, which

originated as a dissertation, sets out to fill this void by examining how the Qing emperors "financed and organized their wars of expansion" through examining the second Jinchuan campaign (1771-1776) (2).

It is hardly difficult to grasp the importance of this research topic, given that logistics and finances served as indispensable prerequisites for any effective war effort. In the mid-eighteenth century, the vainglorious Emperor Qianlong launched the Ten Great Campaigns, which had successfully stamped out internal rebellions and external enemies, and proclaimed himself *Shi quan laoren* 'Old Man of Ten Completions'. These victories, Theobald argues, would have been impossible without a "mighty logistics machine" (5).

Theobald's study is thus conducive to further understanding the reasons for Qing military success. Meanwhile, as Theobald suggests, the business of supplying the troops did not rely exclusively upon central government agencies. Cooperation was required from various other actors, including officials in war-waging provinces, institutions of different administrative levels, rich merchants, and private persons. The state needed to orchestrate "all mechanisms necessary to ensure the smooth supply of a huge amount of persons over a long period of time" (183). The study of war finances and logistics thus also serves as a prism through which one can better view the civil-military relationship and the dynamic interaction between state and society during the Qing Dynasty.

Theobald uses the second Jinchuan Campaign (1771-1776) as a case study to investigate war finances and logistics for at least two reasons. First, the campaign, which initially appeared as a Qing attempt to settle interethnic conflict, brought Qing troops into a protracted war that cost no less than 62 million taels of silver and involved 120,000 troops and 400,000 civilian laborers, along with plenty of personnel from the civilian bureaucracy (18). The Jinchuan case is worth studying, as it appears to be a model to investigate how the imperial government organized large amounts of resources to support the front line. Through systematic analysis of the Qing's victory in Jinchuan, Theobald argues that "the Qing dynasty was able to effectually mobilize the whole government structure and a large

part of the population in order to fulfill its ambitious imperial projects" (5).

Second, financing and supplying the campaign have been documented in a variety of archival sources, such as *Pingding liang Jinchuan junxu li'an* 'Archived Precedents from the War Against the Two Jinchuan', *Junxu zeli* 'War Supplies and Expenditures Code', and *Pingding Liang Jinchuan fanglüe* 'Official Military Annals of the Jinchan Campaign'. The skillful use of these primary sources and major secondary works, allows Theobald to offer a fascinating and detailed assessment of Qing military operations.

The book begins with a short introduction, which reviews relevant literature and identifies the significance of the second Jinchuan campaign for case study. The book's contents are divided thematically into three chapters: Chapter One 'War Expenditure', Chapter Two 'War Finance', and Chapter Three 'War Logistics'. In the first part of the chapters, Theobald begins with a general review of each topic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by detailed analysis of the second Jinchuan campaign. In Chapter One, Theobald explores the types of expenses accrued during the Campaign, including salaries for soldiers and officials; expenses for food, transportation, weapons, and horses; rewards; and compensation for casualties. By examining itemized expenses, the argument is made that the largest cost element was not for personnel, but the transport of grain to the logistics stations and encampments. Theobald's analysis here is not restricted to the enumeration of particular items. He goes further by exploring how the whole accounting process worked and uncovers problems in the auditing process.

This chapter suggests that all the accounting processes were "subject to bureaucratic regulation" (96). However, a nationwide regulation system had proven difficult to establish due to different provincial situations, through the creation of the *Junxu zeli* 'War Expenditure Code' and an expenditure bureau. During the second Jinchuan campaign, the system operated well, Theobald argues, partially because emperors' "imperial favoritism" towards military

operations, and more importantly because "the state revenue had been consolidated" (97). By the time of Qianlong's reign, the persistent financial surpluses made the huge war expenditure possible.

The second chapter seeks to detail the measures that the Qing state developed to raise funds for military campaigns by identifying the role played by different contributors in assisting the government to take over the financial burden. Based on Chen Feng and Lai Fushun's in-depth studies, Theobald first enumerates the means of war finance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These methods include collecting both regular taxes and duties, and irregular levies (forced contributions, increased salt tax, intra-provincial lending and liabilities, support from the Mongols, etc.) The financial burden, Theobald argues, was taken over mainly by governors of the "war-waging" provinces and the Ministry of Revenue. The third major source of funding came from institutionalized contributions from salt merchants and bankers, whose involuntary donations guaranteed their official positions in government.

Chapter Two's second section unravels details how Qianlong financed the second Jinchuan campaign. Compared to the methods of fundraising before the high Qing period, Theobald finds, Qianlong rarely used ad-hoc measures, such as increasing taxation or arbitrarily commandeering supplies for military use. Rather, the high Qing government had developed "perfect bureaucratic models of war finance" (121), under which the imperial government was able to appropriately distribute the financial burden among different actors. The intensified bureaucratic models, on one hand, emphasized the "standardization of accounting" to guarantee the effective use of resources. On the other hand, as Theobald argues, they allowed the government "a tighter control on the funds" flowing from different sectors into the war chest (149).

The final chapter answers the question of how the Qing government successfully organized the logistics issue, which was the most expensive element of war expenditure during the second

Jinchuan campaign. Moving troops to the war theatre and supplying them with food, transport animals, and weapons would not run smoothly without a sophisticated civilian bureaucracy, rather than an exclusive military bureaucracy that operated on the basis of statutes, regulations, and past experience to ensure maximum exploitation of existing resources for military supply. Theobald argues that

the bureaucratization of warfare during the Qing period went so far that in the late eighteenth century campaigns could be launched quickly with the efficient support of the civilian bureaucracy (152).

This can be seen in his detailed examination of the bureaucracy's collaborative manner in organizing troops to the war zone and back, and transporting grain, food, money, gunpowder, metals, and many other war materials. Theobald argues that the military victory benefited from an effective civilian bureaucracy that successfully brought various actors and institutions together.

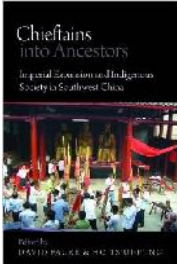
Though the book offers fascinating accounts of the bureaucratization of war finance and logistics during the Qing Dynasty, it does not address the campaign itself in much detail. Readers may come away with little insight into the military motivations of both sides and battle procedures. This is reasonable given that these themes are not the author's major focus. Readers interested in the actual fighting might profitably consult Dai's *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet* (2009) and Waley-Cohen's *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty* (2006). In sum, this book enriches our understanding of Qing warfare organization. It is highly recommended to researchers and graduate students with interest in Qing military and institutional history.

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REVIEW: *CHIEFTAINS INTO ANCESTORS*

Magnus Fiskesjö (Cornell University)



David Faure and Ho Ts'ui-p'ing (eds). 2013. *Chieftains into Ancestors: Imperial Expansion and Indigenous Society in Southwest China*. Vancouver: UBC Press. xii + 254. 19 figures, 1 table, contributors, index. ISBN: 9780774823692 (paperback 34.95CAD), 9780774823685 (hardcover 95CAD).

This essay collection is a must-have for everyone interested in the history of empire and in what we may call the social consequences of empire. It presents a highly sophisticated set of essays on Chinese imperial expansion as seen from the perspective of local peoples in what today is Southwest China. It explores how they were historically drawn into the Chinese imperial project and negotiated this challenge through their own systems of social reproduction through gender and kinship; their economy; their concepts of history and identity deployed in genealogy and mythology and so on.

The imperial project was partially, of course, an effort to incorporate this region to extract its resources and, to that end, enforce both change and uniformity in many different ways, frequently attended by demands for the locals to submit to the state ideology formulated to justify this expansion. The grandiose imperial project of conquest and assimilation is recorded in numerous Chinese historical annals and largely written up in Classical Chinese, but in many places engulfed by the empire, no comparable counter-stories can be found. Or can they?

This book seeks to excavate such hidden stories of empire by reading between the lines in the received Chinese documents, and also by seeking further alternative sources in oral traditions and mythologies, in persisting social arrangements, in religious ceremonies, and more. The essays are edited and presented jointly by the distinguished historian, David Faure, and the prominent

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anthropologist (Ho Ts'ui-p'ing), who have also both included writings of their own. All the other authors are likewise recruited from among historians deeply engaged in cultural and ideological issues, and from among anthropologists who see history as an indispensable dimension to their research.

As the editors make clear, including in the astute introduction by Faure, the intent is not simply to rewrite or write the history of the conquered, but to "break out of the center-local typology" (xii) when investigating the inter-digitation of local societies and the empire, and pay special attention to finding and analyzing the "indigenous historical voice" that is either suppressed altogether or is but indirectly represented in most Chinese historical records, and treated imperfectly in many previous discussions of these topics.

The book is well illustrated with mostly contemporary snapshots taken by the authors from field visits to the sites of the ongoing broad revival of traditionalist institutions. These photos include temples and memorials now being reconstructed across the region. The volume also, appropriately for a serious book on China, includes the proper glossary with Chinese characters for key terms and names for each chapter. We like that!

Inevitably, there are some minor typos and misspellings, such as "Steven" for Stevan (Harrell); "Hsingchu" for Hsinchu; "La Nan" for Lanna (or Lan Na), and a few more. But these small errors in no way detract from the impressive contribution that this volume makes. I highly recommend it.

Each of the independent chapters in its own way delves deeply into ways of reaching behind the *façade* of straightforward submission to imperial demands and state-sanctioned forms of worship, and so on. Each author strives to relocate the purposeful adaptations and accommodations that have been attempted by locals in the face of such pressures. Several chapters treat what Faure identifies as a pattern in which "local society's adoption and, sometimes, manipulation of state-accepted ritual provided a means whereby the commitment between state and local society was sealed" (9). Thus, things are definitely not always what they seem in the "standard" histories, and the book's method of creatively and subtly reading multiple dimensions of history and ethnography together,

makes possible the uncovering of manipulations and negotiations that are often in fact "still" ongoing, before our very eyes.

In the first chapter, "Showing the Way," linguistic anthropologist Huang Shu-li presents a thoughtful and probing discussion of a key Hmong (Miao) funerary rite that is currently adapted in many Hmong global diaspora situations globally. It involves a destination and a routing that, she argues, served and continues to serve to fashion a distinct Hmong identity. The key element is participation, which has little to do with whether the rite could or could not also serve as an alternate genre of history meant to compete with dominant Chinese historiography. Like the other authors, Huang engages with other authorities in the same field. Future discussion of these ideas might take up Nicholas Tapp's (2010) work on Hmong identity and its global ramifications. This might include the Hmong debates of if and how they themselves really need to "compete" with authoritative orthodox historiographic genres that demand precise locations and a precise chronology for any true historical account, where such criteria were once irrelevant, or salient to the Hmong in ways radically different from the history-writing of others.

In Chapter Two, Kao Ya-ning writes about the remembrance and canonization of the famed eleventh-century Guangxi-area rebellion and its leader Nong Zhigao, claimed by today's Zhuang nationality as an ancestral hero, in accordance with New China's new historiography. Kao reports the commemorative rituals in detail and shows that they suggest a very different understanding of the past, not least because of the locating of sacred sites outside Chinese-sponsored towns. This, plus the complementary-gender representations in the deification and in the retelling of its memory with a celebrated cavern-dwelling goddess, said to be Nong Zhigao's mother, or wife, digresses from orthodox Chinese conceptions and practices.

Next, in Chapter Three, Zhang Yingqiang discusses another such deified barbarian leader, the "Flying Mountain" god of the Hunan-Guizhou border areas, dating to the tenth century. Here, too, is a complex history of attempts from both local quarters and agents of the empire to claim the memory of the deified figure, once portrayed as vanquishing a demon wielding a heavenly book as one of

his weapons. This complex inter-digitation is carefully discussed, including the key element of the purposeful recognition and co-option of such a figure by the Chinese state. This discussion also includes how today "the process of history making continues," (80) with local people and authorities grappling with the historical meaning of this cult, once again re-emergent today. This can be compared to the struggle over multivalent Northern figures such as the great Genghis Khan, and other officially "adopted" hero-enemies of China.

Chapter Four by Lian Ruizhi discusses the rapid adoption in the Dali area of Chinese-imposed forms. Thus, "Surviving Conquest in Dali" details a mode of survival that continues to this day. The Bai are, of course, already a *cause célèbre* of sorts in the study of Chinese identities, not least because of the now-famous misreading of the Bai by Francis LK Hsu (1948), which continues to be much debated. This chapter does not directly engage that debate, which after all is mostly about outsiders' misreadings, but rather offers its own sophisticated reading of the history of Bai identity formulation through the parallel and mutually-related forms of legend-telling and the written genealogies, made to look more and more Chinese.

Xie Xiaohui, in her excellent chapter (Five) titled 'From Woman's Fertility to Masculine Authority: The Story of the White Emperor Heavenly Kings in Western Hunan', tells of the demotion of the mother figure that was important in certain autonomous Hunan societies. Instead, the Han orthodoxy of unilineal male lines of worship and authority were favored. The story once again turns on the co-option of local deities-heroes, who were recast as the empires' helpers. Nevertheless, it is evident that this project remains incomplete and unfinished. With its discussion of the recalcitrant hero mother figure that will not go away, and a father that is added only on orders from above, this chapter recalls the earlier discussion of Nong Zhigao. It also delves deep into the transformations of gender and gender symbolism as part of the imperial-local tug of war.

A terminological footnote: I note that Dr. Xie here chooses "untamed" and "tame" as translations of the Classical Chinese terms *sheng* and *shu*, used for barbarians of the past who shared cultural features (such as language), but who were split on those still outside state control (the *sheng* barbarians), and those halfway incorporated

into the state (the *shu* barbarians). She uses untamed/ tame instead of raw/ cooked, because "there is no evidence that the food analogy applies to natives any more than to domesticated and wild animals" (133, n2). However, as I have argued (Fiskesjö 1999), "raw" and "cooked" still may better represent the original (Chinese) sense, not in a literal but in a metaphorical sense: the raw/ cooked analogy suggests the emperor's civilizing mission is the preparation (cooking) for the ultimate purpose of the ingestion and full incorporation of those natives into the body of the empire, for its digestion and use. Translating *shu* as "tame" does not quite capture the sense of the imperial project's ultimate goal of erasure of everything "native," which is achieved when the barbarians' identity vanishes into the mass of regularized imperial subjects. Actually, this Chinese conception of civilization does not even distinguish between animals and barbarians, who are themselves seen as half-animals. And ideally not only the barbarians, but even the wild animals would eventually be civilized. In practice, the imperial ideological project is characterized by a perennial incompleteness, as amply demonstrated throughout this book.

Chapter Six by He Xi also tells the story of a mother-goddess figure, Madam Xian of the Lingnan and Hainan region, who is a historical figure turned protective goddess. She too has been kept alive to this day, yet also has been marginalized by the state insistence on patriliney as the link to state authority. In this dense and rich chapter, the manipulation of the ownership of stories of subjugation of natives yet farther afield (which may actually not have happened historically until in the more directly interventionist Ming and Qing dynasties), emerges as a fascinating subtext.

In Chapter Seven, David Faure offers a tantalizing story from nineteenth century Guangxi, in his contribution entitled 'The *Tusi* that Never Was: Find an Ancestor, Connect to the State'. The term *tusi*, of course, refers to the Chinese imperial system of appointing local chiefs as "native chiefs." Faure's chapter discusses an outright invention of an ancient ancestor, by locals who are trying to overcome a Sinicized, patriliney-defined ruler in their own time by cleverly using the state-favored tools of patriliney, genealogy, and tomb-construction and elaboration to invent their own, even more ancient, fake ancestor, to displace the power of the one imposed from the outside. This

chapter is an excellent guide to how the outward language and form of Chinese rule might well conceal a different story. In this case, it is clear it would have remained hidden but for the kind of social-archaeological history practiced here (complete with an on-site visit to the very real, and yet at the same time invented, ancestral cemetery).

In Chapter Eight, 'The Wancheng Native Officialdom: Social Production and Social Reproduction', James Wilkerson also writes of Guangxi and likewise about *tusi* officialdom, but focuses on how the native elites' mimicry of Chinese-style lineage came to clash with the meritocratic ideal of Confucian-style schooling and an examination path to officialdom, an ideal that was supposed to accompany the *tusi* system. The examination avenue to social and official advancement was opened up over time, in the context of other economic changes, and in ways that disrupted the exclusive elite previously in charge. Consequently, education helped in breaking down what remained of such semi-autonomous authority. Here, as in other chapters, when faced with this kind of highly subtle reading of an intense and complex social-historical drama, the reader becomes very curious about the extent to which the different actors were aware of their options, or of the consequences of their choices - to the extent that they had them? How many of the changes were intentional, and how much circumstantial and unintended as part of an unavoidable historical process beyond the comprehension of those involved?

In the final chapter (Chapter Nine), Ho Ts'ui-p'ing draws together several threads around the theme of gender, a key dimension of the book. Given that so little is written - with exceptions, of course, such as the equally sophisticated and historically aware works by Uradyn Bulag (2002; 2010) about gender dynamics in the history of the "barbarians" and China's barbarian frontiers, this aspect is one of the book's most valuable contributions. Ho Ts'ui-p'ing argues that the empire transformed everyone; that the developments of penetration and conquest by the imperial state discussed in the book cannot just be taken to reveal a lingering after-effect of female deities pre-existing those penetrations, or surviving them in a role of protector of women oppressed under the new externally imposed system of patriliney. It is important to understand that those goddesses, which may have already existed in some pre-

conquest form, were themselves recast as a locus of new identity formation provoked in the course of the conquest. They "empower not the deprived second gender, but the conquered communities and the lost kingdom, in the historical process of making China" (239); they also represent a new belief that "women's agency can revive those communities" (238) because the men have been broken. (One might ask if their women today, are being drained away as workers in the Chinese factory world, or as wives in China's rural interior, never to return, or in such massive numbers that this revival itself becomes a lost dream.)

Overall, the book makes a tremendous contribution in discussing the historical confrontation between the demands of the Central State and its agentive peripheries where people have not been foreign to formulating strategies and agendas of their own. The book delves into the resulting consequences of contested historical memory, the duplicity and doubling up of rituals, and of other manipulated forms of purposeful commemoration and identity-making that locals engage in. These developments are often examined from both sides, with ample citations from Chinese documents, but with special concern for the local and native perspective.

With these great achievements, what is missing? Among the many possible threads that are not spun here is that of Wolfram Eberhard, the idiosyncratic Sinologist-folklorist whose chains of tales and patterns linking and making local cultures in the South of China (f.ex. Eberhard 1968) is only briefly hinted at (20). Overall, perhaps more attention could have been paid to the inter-digitation of indigenous and the local Chinese (Han Chinese) traditions that vary tremendously in themselves and which similarly have been at the receiving end of the imperial project of "nivellation" that falsely homogenizes them, so as to hide and to neutralize their original diversity, as has been explored by many other scholars of South China, such as Göran Aijmer (2010), and others.

That aside, in terms of analysis of the imperial-indigenous axis, perhaps the discussion could also have engaged with Marshall Sahlins' recent work (2008a, 2008b, 2014; see also Liang 2011) on the Southwestern Chinese presence of the pervasive global figure of the Stranger-King, the chief or king cast as an alien invader appropriating the native soil's mother as a counterpart, in a

configuration of power originating in the manipulation of kinship relations. This obviously can be relevant in the constellations of local mother-goddesses and conquering fathers aiding the alien empire's incursions - not least for building a global-comparative perspective, which is not really present in the book, which is very heavily China-focused. In some ways this is a pity, since the book's readership should ideally include students of other empires and empires generally, and the strong Sinological bent of this book makes it less accessible for the non-Sinologist. Perhaps further discussion of the obvious parallels with other imperial frontiers (beyond the explicit lines of comparisons on gender issues, drawn in the final chapter) would have enhanced this value even more. Will Whitmore and Anderson's forthcoming volume be different in this regard?

On a similar note, the powerful but oft-ignored theory of Southwest Chinese identity dynamics that was constructed by Jonathan Friedman (new edition 1998) as a part of his critique of Edmund Leach's (1954) and Claude Lévi-Strauss's (1969) incomplete attempts to discuss ethnicity and power relations in this region (and by implication well beyond it, in general terms), is also missing here.

But there is much to be said for the searching and penetrating studies of Chinese particulars, on which this book so carefully focuses. The essays are enormously rewarding to read, if challenging at times. It strikes me that they often amount to something like an archaeology, and I believe that real archaeological studies of *material* remains should be added to the list of potential tools for writing the sort of alternative history that the authors are after. It is well known that the material remains of the past can be mobilized to expose lies and cover-ups in the official record, where such a record exists. Yet it is also true that historical archaeology, and especially the historical archaeology of the "barbarian" frontiers, and especially those of recent centuries, is rarely pursued in China. Among some archaeologists there is even a harmful misunderstanding that recent history is only for the historians, not for archaeology. But in fact it is very much possible that careful excavations of the remains of the past at these frontiers could reveal a great many things that cannot be ascertained even by reading between the lines in received texts.

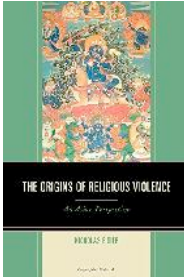
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REVIEW: *THE ORIGINS OF RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE*

Reviewed by: Nikolas Broy (Institute for the Study of Religions,
University of Leipzig)



Gier, Nicholas F. 2014. *The Origins of Religious Violence: An Asian Perspective*. Lanham: Lexington Books. xxvii + 295. ISBN 978-0-7391-9222-1 (hardcover 100USD).

Nicholas S. Gier, professor emeritus of philosophy at the University of Idaho, has published widely on comparative philosophy and ethics, particularly Asian and Western. His last book, *The Virtue of Nonviolence* (2004), develops an understanding of nonviolence as "virtue ethics" by comparing Buddhist, Jainist, Hinduist, and Confucianist traditions, as well as the thought of prominent activists such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. Following this lead, Gier's new study is dedicated to violence and militancy in Asian religious traditions. Because this relationship is comparably less known to most readers, Gier's book is an important contribution to the study of faith-based violence.

The book is arranged in two parts with chapters one to nine discussing religiously motivated violence and militancy in several South and East Asian regions including India, Śri Lanka, Burma, Bhutan, Tibet, Japan, and China. In addition to this multiregional approach, Gier also analyses violence in Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, and Chinese Taiping Christian contexts. Summarizing and analyzing the empirical chapters, Part Two (chapters ten to eleven) provides explanations for religious violence, as well as an approach to overcome militant fundamentalism and religious violence.

In general, Gier shows that apart from violent traditions in Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhism, premodern Asian societies knew very little religious violence. In contrast, he asserts that they generally enjoyed a great amount of religious tolerance and harmony. According to his definition, "religiously motivated violence" is

Broy, Nikolas. 2016. Review: *The Origins of Religious Violence*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:489-497.

understood as "the violence committed for the purpose of converting the enemy to the conqueror's religion, systematically oppressing those who resist conversion, and destroying their temples and religious artifacts in the process." (2). Gier's primary hypothesis is that most religious violence must be credited to the impact of colonial modernity on the development of modern national and/or ethnic identities which he terms "essential identities". He argues that the process of creating these identities can be traced back to the modernist idea that drove religions apart during the Protestant Reformation and which basically leads people to essentialize ethnic, religious, and other identities (4f.). One important result of this process is the attempt to exclude all alleged "others" in order to homogenize the ethnic, national, or religious group. I will return to this hypothesis below, but let me first sketch the content of the book.

Chapter One discusses relatively peaceful and harmonious Hindu-Muslim relations in medieval India. Gier shows that Islam spread rather peacefully in South Asia, initially adopting moderate rule aimed at politically integrating Buddhists and Hindus as trusted advisors and military officers (8). The destruction of temples and mosques observed prior to the twentieth century were overwhelmingly instigated by Muslims, not by Hindus, but not in a significant manner (14). In striking contrast to modern India, which is discussed in Chapter Two, personal identity and political allegiance in pre-colonial India were primarily ethnic and social, not religious.

Chapter Two describes the development of nationalist discourses and Hindu nationalism centered on the concept of "*hindutva*" ("Hinduness"). Adopting colonial discourses about religious and national identities, nineteenth and early twentieth century Indians began assuming that Islam was not a true part of the Hindu motherland because it was alien to India (27). In a process that Gier labels "reverse orientalism" Indians took over the Western idea of decline of India, but found a glorious past - a "Hindu Empire" free of Islam and Christianity which then was projected as the final goal of the true Hindu nation (26f.). This partially racist world view that some proponents viewed in close relationship to Nazi ideology, is portrayed as the primary reason for the aggressive exclusion and violent persecution of Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. An example is given in the concluding pages of this chapter (38-42) which describes anti-Muslim pogroms in the state of Gujarat in 2002 when approximately 2,000 Muslims were killed and 250 mosques destroyed by a mob of raging Hindu nationalists. The explicitly religious nature of these brutal acts can be observed in the fact that in many instances, the Hindu symbol "Om" was carved into the victims' bodies and statues of Rama's faithful servant Hanuman were placed

in many of the ruins (40).

Chapter Three discusses the history of religious violence in Śrī Lanka which, as a modern phenomenon, may be characterized as an ethnic/ religious antagonism between Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese. Following the same narrative of relative premodern harmony versus modern disharmony, Gier describes a similar process of "reverse orientalism" in which the Sinhalese adopted the Theosophist "affirmative orientalism" discourse that proclaimed the spiritual superiority of South-Asian civilization as well as the full compatibility of Buddhism with European science and rationalism (57-60). As in the case of India, Buddhist nationalists such as Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933) propagated the identity of "race" (Sinhalese) and "religion" (Buddhism), thus excluding Tamils (Hindus) and Christians from their project of modernity. The militant and often outright racist discourses finally led to an armed conflict between hard-line nationalists on both sides that resulted in a loss of 60,000 to 100,000 lives between 1983 and 2009. In addition to stressing the modern nature of this problem, Gier points out that already during the reign of Buddhist king Dutthagamani (r. 161-137 BCE) there were strong anti-Tamil sentiments (53).

Chapter Four shows a similar situation in Burma where the Buddhist-Muslim harmony of the precolonial era changed dramatically. Since 2001, Burma has experienced a series of anti-Muslim pogroms that caused about a thousand casualties and left 140,000 people homeless. As in the case of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism, Anti-Muslim sentiments are spread and perpetuated by leading Buddhist monks such as the Venerable Ashin Wirathu who has been called "bold Bin Laden" and who contends that "You can be full of kindness and love, but you cannot sleep next to a mad dog" (67). According to Gier, the current anti-Muslim violence has both religious and racial origins and motivations that again have much to do with the colonial experience. The latter section of this chapter deals with the political history of modern Burma and the activities of national hero Aung San (1915-1947) and his even more prominent daughter and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi (*1945). While this is interesting, it is not always relevant to the topic under discussion. It is important to note, however, that after the Burmese parliament made Buddhism the state religion in 1961, violent actions of monks, state actors, and other activists against Muslims, Indians, and other minorities continued and intensified.

Chapters Five and Six deal with the violent traditions of Buddhist lamas, "war magic", and political militancy in Bhutan and Tibet. In striking contrast to the religious harmony that Gier assumes for premodern India, Śrī Lanka, and Burma, Bhutanese and Tibetan

history shows major lamas waging sectarian war and supporting expansionary military campaigns. Most frequently, conflicts arose from competing parties that aimed at putting forth their candidates into incarnational succession of religious leaders. These conflicts sometimes turned into full-fledged war. They often also included "forced conversions, the burning of scripture, hate speech and cursing of other sects, or the destruction of monasteries, temples, and statues" (114f.). They may thus be considered religiously motivated violence according to Gier's aforementioned definition. Buddhist lamas and local militias used different sorts of "war magic" (e.g., creating armies of wild animals and natural disasters; or Voodoo-like "magic") to subdue their enemies. The rivalry and bitter fighting among the monasteries is particularly obvious in Tibetan history, which Gier considers "one thousand years of war magic". In a very detailed manner, Gier describes the constant struggle over religious and political power by powerful lamas, monasteries, private armies, and political actors that even led to political murders, such as the assassination of alleged anti-Buddhist king Lang Darma (r. 838-842).

Chapter Seven focuses on Japanese nationalism and Buddhist involvement in the war effort of the expansionist Japanese Empire (1868-1945). As it is the case with Sinhalese, Indian, and Burmese nationalisms, Gier assumes the same forces at work that may be considered the primary cause for religious violence: the fusion of religious and national identity (84, 183). The modernist discourses of the evolving empire served a racist and nationalist interpretation of "Japaneseness" that helped Japan perceive itself as a world power with a divine mission to conquer and transform the world according to the superior nature of Japanese culture and religion. Gier argues that Buddhist complicity with Japanese militarism and expansionism can be understood as an effort to prove one's belonging to the nation after Buddhism was persecuted during the early Meiji era (1868-1911) for being not Japanese. Subsequently, Japanese monks such as Rinzai Zen priest Shaku Sōen (1860-1919) volunteered as army chaplains. Shaku Sōen further declared "what is shed by Buddhists is not blood [...] but tears issuing directly from the fountainhead of loving kindness" (190). Others such as prominent scholar of Zen Buddhism DT Suzuki (1870-1966) claimed that only Zen provides the will power and martial spirit required for a warrior. Furthermore, Gier claims that Suzuki insisted that Japan's declaring war on China in 1895 was a just and necessary "religious action" because the Chinese were violent and unruly, and interfered in Japan's need to trade and acquire resources (192f.). Zen abbot Hata Eshō (1864-1944) was delighted that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 8 December 1941 coincided with the Buddha's day of enlightenment

(not his birthday as Gier erroneously claims) and called it "a holy day for eternally commemorating the reconstruction of the world" (193).

An important exception to this "sad chronicle of complicity" is the lay Buddhist Sōka Gakkai organization, which rejected the nationalist readings of Buddhism. Here as elsewhere (see below) the book would have profited from a closer reading of more recent literature on Buddhist militancy in modern Japan, particularly in regard of the work of Brian Victoria whose pioneering study *Zen at War* (1997) is not only Gier's chief reference, but has attracted many criticisms since its publication (such as in the case of Suzuki's statement about the "violent and unruly Chinese" mentioned above, cf. Satō 2008:70f.).

In Chapter Eight, Gier returns to India to discuss the emergence of nationalist Sikh discourses and militant Sikh separatists in 1980s and 1990s India. According to Gier, the notion of a distinct Sikh identity separate from the Hindu majority was established during the colonial era and then developed into claims to establish an autonomous Sikh state. The tensions between the Indian state and Sikh militants culminated in the storming of the Sikh Golden Temple, the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1917-1984) by her Sikh bodyguards, and subsequent anti-Sikh pogroms causing thousands of deaths in 1985. Here, as in the case of India, Śri Lanka, and Burma, Gier assumes that Sikh fundamentalism and militancy emerged only as a result of colonial modernity.

As the last empirical study, Chapter Nine provides a discussion of Hong Xiuquan's (1814-1864) Christian-inspired uprising that led to the establishing of the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (*Taiping tianguo*) from 1851 to 1865. The self-proclaimed "brother of Jesus Christ" and his followers initiated what has been called one of the deadliest military conflicts in world history. It resulted in the death of at least twenty million people. Besides its militant nature, Taiping followers also destroyed traditional Chinese temples and were anti-Confucian. Albeit admitting indigenous Chinese progenitors, Gier argues that the Taiping's rigor and fundamentalism must be attributed to Christian influences. Completely ignoring recent studies on Chinese sectarianism and Buddhist violence (cf. Seiwert 2002; Broy 2012:59-65), however, Gier assumes that "the idea that God would lead a heavenly army, or that any human could arrogate the Mandate of Heaven as Hong did, is alien to the Chinese mind." (225).

Following the empirical section of the book, Chapter Ten provides eleven hypotheses on the reasons of religious violence by comparing Abrahamic (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) and Asian religions. Building on his general impression that the Abrahamic

religions have the worst record in religiously motivated violence (xi) and echoing what is stated throughout the book, Gier claims that this affinity between religion and violence must be attributed to the nature of the monotheist Abrahamic religions: They are primarily religions of obedience to God as the "axiological" ultimate (the highest good); they are very much concerned with following his commands, emphasize the authority of written scripture, and have been more concerned with maintaining the purity of divine revelation (241-246). He further postulates that religions with a future messianic ruler and strong apocalyptic visions cause more violence (251f.). On the other side, the emergence of widespread religious violence in modern Asia is attributed to the fusion of religious and national identities. Thus, summarizing Gier's explanation, religious violence is primarily found (1) in the Abrahamic religions and (2) in the modern context of evolving nation-states and their search for identity.

Chapter Eleven returns to a topic Gier developed in his 2004 book *The Virtue of Nonviolence*. Building on British philosopher Richard Swindburne's concept of "weak belief" as well as on "constructive postmodernism", Gier proposes an antidote to religious nationalism and fundamentalism. The "Gospel of Weak Belief" aims at responding to the "strong belief" of fundamentalism by assuming that a certain creed is *probably* true while others are *probably* not (257). According to Gier, this view can be observed in the teachings of Jesus, Mahāvīra, Buddha, Confucius, Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Gandhi. In addition, Gier employs the notion of "constructive postmodernism" that wishes to reestablish the

premodern harmony of humans, society, and God without losing the integrity of the individual, the possibility of meaning, an affirmation of history, liberal political values, and the intrinsic value of nature (266).

In order to counter the absoluteness of fundamentalist approaches, Gier offers the notion of "virtue ethics". They must be understood as an emulative process and stand in contrast to "rule ethics" that involve strict conformity and obedience to a set of codified norms: "The emulative approach engages the imagination and personalizes and thoroughly grounds individual moral action and responsibility." (269).

In summary, Gier's book provides a detailed description and analysis of religiously motivated violence across the borders of region and religion in both premodern and modern Asia. There are a number of issues related to his approach that I will now take up.

First, his analysis is limited to a very narrow understanding of religiously motivated violence in the sense of violent coercion directed towards others in order to achieve their conversion to the conqueror's religion. This narrow scope is fine, but it should have been reflected in the title of the book. One may imagine other religiously motivated acts of violence that follow different objectives. These other types, however, are not discussed in the book at all. Secondly, and more importantly, this observation leads me to suspect that Gier's explanation for the emergence of religious violence in Asia is slightly circular: Instead of showing, as he claims, that premodern Asian societies did not know violent religions in a significant manner (as compared to the Abrahamic religions), he merely demonstrates the absence of this particular type of religious violence that, according to his interpretation, was produced to a large extent only under the conditions of colonial modernity. This, however, does not mean that premodern Asian societies did not experience other forms of religious violence (see below).

Readers may also wonder why other Asian countries such as Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, and many more were included into what is entitled "An Asian Perspective". The book might have done better in promising merely a South and East Asian perspective. In addition, Gier omits a considerable amount of scholarship, particularly on violence in the Buddhist traditions of Asia that has been published in the past decade. Besides the seminal studies of such prominent scholars of Buddhism as Paul Demiéville (1973; transl. Kendall 2010), Bernard Faure (2008), and Christoph Kleine (2002; 2003; 2006), Gier has neither consulted the important work on monastic warfare and intersect violence in medieval Japan (Kleine 2002; Adolphson 2007), Buddhist nationalism in modern Thailand (Jerryson 2011), Sri Lanka (Bartholomeusz 2002), and China (Yu 2005), nor monastic martial arts and warfare in premodern China (Shahar 2008; Broy 2007; 2012). He also does not mention other important edited volumes on the subject (Zimmermann 2006; Jerryson and Juergensmeyer 2010; Tikhonov and Brekke 2013). Furthermore, particularly with regard to Chinese and Japanese names and *termini technici*, the book has a number of orthographic flaws such as writing "Soka Gakkei" rather than the correct "Sōka Gakkai" (183-199) and a constant mixing of standard Pinyin and other romanizations for Chinese such as Qing/Ching Dynasty (222), Chang Chueh [Zhang Jue] (224), and cheng [zheng] (230).

These objections notwithstanding, Gier offers an intriguing comparative account of the reasons and motivations for religious violence that bring together the studies of numerous scholars who

have worked on one particular region or religious tradition. Consequently, his study has two primary benefits: First, Gier demonstrates to all non-specialists in the field of Asian Studies that violence and religion have an important yet sad relationship in Asia. Second, he provides one of the first overall comparative accounts of religious violence in an Asian context across religious and cultural boundaries. I find Gier's hypotheses about the origins of religious violence in specific features of the Abrahamic religions not absolutely convincing. If, for example, Gier is correct in maintaining that monotheist absoluteness is a primary reason for militant intolerance, then why did most "Christian" violence occur in medieval and early modern Europe and America, but not in the countless Christian communities established during the first centuries CE in the Middle East?. Nevertheless, his comparative approach should be highlighted because it provides valuable reading for students and scholars interested in the study of religion and violence.

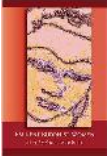
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REVIEW: EMINENT BUDDHIST WOMEN

Reviewed by Kali Cape (University of Virginia)



Tsomo, Karma Lekshe (ed). 2014. *Eminent Buddhist Women*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press. 278. Preface, introduction, index. ISBN: 978-1-4384-5130 (paperback, 29.95USD).

Eminent Buddhist Women edited by Karma Lekshe Tsomo, is in part the product of the 2010 Sakyadhita International Conference on Buddhist Women convened in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. The chapters feature narratives about exceptional Buddhist women, contributing to the growing genre of literature on female Buddhist figures. The stated aim of the collection is to make visible women's contributions to Buddhism within multiple traditions.

The volume is organized geographically into five sections with twenty chapters. These chapters feature Buddhist women in South Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, the Tibetan cultural region, and the West. The essays vary from translations with commentaries, to first person narratives told in the style of Buddhist hagiographies, to ethnographic accounts and oral histories. The editor made a deliberate decision to present heterogeneous narrative forms in order to recount a variety of narratives:

The considerable variation in these stories reflects the vast and varied range of experience in the lives of Buddhist women. Rather than homogenize these women's stories and experiences into a preconceived generic template or superimpose successive waves of feminist analysis, I have chosen to respect and retain as much as possible, the narrative choices of those who tell the stories (5).

Each chapter contains elements of local political and religious history interwoven with the narratives, providing a broad exposure to diverse Buddhist contexts and gender issues that weave them together. The result is an easy-to-read text that lends itself well to an undergraduate introductory Buddhism or Buddhism and gender courses with supplementary readings to outline the larger theoretical frameworks and historical contexts.

The work begins with an introduction by Karma Lekshe Tsomo who connects the text to a modern movement for women's
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rights in Buddhist religion:

A revolution is currently under way in Buddhist societies to upset the myth of women's inherent inferiority and to rescind the restrictions placed on women as a consequence of their imposed second rate status (7).

The introduction by the editor sets the stage for the range of narratives in the text. Tsomo begins the text by questioning gendered assumptions in the notion of "eminence," of historical figures. The narrative of Mahāpajāpatī, the first Buddhist nun, is cast in terms of feminist activism as "one of the earliest recorded instances of what today is termed feminist advocacy" (14). The editor highlights the importance of recovering lost histories in order to provide a tribute to women's contributions and achievements. She points out that the documentary potential for recording Buddhist women's narratives is higher than ever before. These comments set the stage for some of the oral histories recounted in the text.

This movement for Buddhist women primarily engages the issue of female monastic ordination, though other concerns are also addressed. Tsomo outlines the history of these issues: A *bhiksuni* order - the first Buddhist nun's order - was established early on during the life of the Buddha, though its lineage was not continuous. Consequently, women's access to full ordination and higher education, such as the *geshe* degree, have come only through painstaking deliberate efforts on behalf of the movements' proponents (Havnevik 1990:45, 140).

Critics of the Buddhist women's movement have claimed that their agenda is initiated by Western Buddhist women and imposed upon Asian women based on Eurocentric ideals (38). This assertion is directly and repeatedly countered in the text. For example, Chapter Two 'Two Generations of Eminent Nepalese Nuns' by Punyawati Guruma features the stories of two nineteenth century Theravada nuns who established the first monasteries for women in Nepal. In another example, Chapter Three 'Brave Daughters of the Buddha: The Feminisms of the Burmese Nuns' by Cristina Bonnet-Acosta discusses methods of resistance that Burmese nuns use to improve their own circumstances. Bonnet-Acosta argues that the critique that the movement is a Eurocentric imposition on Asian women overlooks local forms of resistance and heterogeneity in feminist activism. She argues convincingly that the Burmese women in her study may not be associated with any feminist movement, nor invested in egalitarian ideals, yet they seek to improve their situation in order to overcome

limitations imposed upon them due to their female status:

While these forms of feminism develop strategies to improve the conditions of women in different parts of the world, they do so without resorting to an imitation of the Western ideals for women, and, as Mohanty explains, they are also often involved in critical examinations of the Eurocentric and colonial legacies that Western feminism carries with it (38).

The twenty chapters in this collection place it beyond the scope of a detailed chapter by chapter summary for the purposes of this review. However, five chapters stand out as examples of the types of narratives presented in the text. These are Chapter One ('My Sister's Future Buddhahood: A Jātaka of the Buddha's Lifetime as a Woman') by Karen Derris; Chapter Two (mentioned above); Chapter Twelve ('From Mountains to Metropolis: Sōn Master Daehaeng's Teachers on Contemporary Buddhist Practice') by Hyeseon Sunim that provides an example of both female asceticism and Buddhist modernization; Chapter Fourteen ('The Legacy of a Female Sikkimese Buddhist Teacher: The Lineage of Peling Ani Wangdzin and Gendered Religious Experience in Modern Sikkim') by Amy Holmes-Taghungdarpa featuring the female founder of a Sikkimese lineage of lay women; and Chapter Twenty ('What Is a Relevant Role Model? The Example of an Ordinary Woman Who Achieved Enlightenment') by Rita M Gross, which compares two types of female figures featured in Buddhist narratives.

Central to all the chapters is a heavy emphasis on social activism, institution building, ordination, and equal access to opportunities for spiritual growth. Chapter Two tells the story of two nuns in Nepal who established the first monasteries. Interwoven with their lives is the political context of Nepal in the twentieth century, when Buddhist practice was restricted by Hindu Rana rulers (31).

Chapter One offers a commentary and translation of a medieval Pāli text, the *Soṭṭhakīmahānidāna*. This text describes the story of a princess who lived during the time of a buddha from a previous aeon, making it the only Theravadin narrative in which the Buddha was formerly female. The princess aspired to be reborn as a buddha, and the story centers around confirmation that this princess will be none other than Siddhartha Gotama, the historical Buddha. Two versions of the story appear in the text and are offered in translation in this chapter. Derris points out that both versions interweave elements of the story with the *Buddhavamsa*, the more

well-known canonical Pali hagiography of the Buddha. This is accomplished by presenting lifetimes that predate the *Buddhavamsa* stories, yet are connected to them.

After briefly introducing the genre of Jātaka tales, the stories of the Buddha's previous lives, Derris' analysis centers on two points of interest in the story: gender issues illustrated by the manner in which the prophecy is given and the re-envisioned etymology of the name of the Buddha.

A gender issue raised within the narrative is the status of women as viable candidates for future Buddhahood. Early Buddhists' vinaya literature detail that a male birth and a monastic status is a prerequisite to reach buddhahood (Havnevik 1990:142). In the Jātaka tales, a condition for attaining buddhahood is that one must be told by a living buddha that one will become a buddha in a future aeon. In other words, one must have received a prediction of future buddhahood from a living buddha. Furthermore, orthodox Pāli rules require that one who receives such a prediction must be male. Thus, Derris points out that the challenge posed in this Jātaka tale is that the princess as a woman could not receive such a prediction. The twist in the story occurs when the buddha of that aeon indirectly subverts the orthodox rules by making a prediction that the prediction will be made. Thus, this narrative serves as an example of resistance against gender discrimination in medieval Pali literature. Derris frames this as a form of discreet resistance.

While this narrative remains technically within the bounds of the Pāli orthodox rules governing who may receive a prediction, notably that the recipient of a prediction of Buddhahood must be male, it pushes as hard as possible against this by introducing a new category of prediction that his sister [the princess] will, in a future lifetime, receive a prediction of Buddhahood from a future Buddha (14).

This chapter also includes analysis of the princess' aspiration to be a future buddha named *Siddhattaakatela*. Derris argues that this is a literary device implying that the princess' story is the pivotal account that sets in motion Siddhartha's long journey. In other words, this implies that the aspiration of a *female bodhisatta* was the inception of the journey to Buddhahood. Since this chapter intertwines an analysis of this narrative in the context of gender issues in the vinaya, it gives a useful and pithy introduction to the basis of gender discrimination themes in Buddhist thought.

Chapters Three through Eight feature nuns from South Asia.

In Chapter Three, Bonnet-Acosta argues that in the case of Burmese nuns, previous works have

overlooked the heterogeneity within the community of nuns, and they do not adequately open a space to discuss the methods of confrontation and resistance that some groups of Burmese nuns have developed in order to improve their situation (36).

This chapter features an account of the first Burmese nuns to attain full ordination in Burma, which has the highest number of female monastics of any country (36). It also offers a discussion of transnational feminist theory and the work of an eminent nun in Burma, Sayalay Dipankara.

Chapters Nine through Twelve feature East Asian subjects. Chapter Twelve offers a striking example of positive contributions of rare narratives of women in Buddhism provided by this text. It highlights a form of understudied, non-institutional Buddhist practice, that of the itinerant female. It also documents efforts at modernization on the part of a female Buddhist leader. The chapter features the life of a twenty-first century Korean Sŏn Master, Daehaeng, who made efforts to modernize the spread of Buddhism in relationship to the urbanization and Westernization of Koreans (143).

Daehaeng engaged in solitary contemplative practice in the wilderness for a decade. Hyeseon Sunim (Kyunhee Lee) describes Daehaeng's capacity for such practice as stemming from a childhood of disruption and homelessness, which led to deep questioning, becoming a novice nun, and retreating to the mountains (144). As with many of the chapters in the text, fascinating snippets of national and political histories in the period are seamlessly interwoven with narratives of individual subjects. For example, Daehaeng was sometimes bullied and beaten by strangers and even arrested and tortured by the police, who suspected her of being a North Korean spy (145). Later, after her long period of ascetic practice was complete, Daehaeng founded an urban center. Hyeseon Sunim (Kyunhee Lee) describes Daehaeng as an innovator and modernizer, citing examples of Daehaeng's translations, lay teachings, and adaptations of rituals for the sake of simplicity and attention to meaning.

The next section of the book contains chapters on women in the Tibetan Cultural region, including Sikkim, Tibet, and Mongolia. Chapter Fourteen is notable in highlighting a figure outside the major institutions and whose lineage was carried on by lay-people. The

understudied area of sub-altern figures in Tibet and the need for documentation of non-monastic religious activities makes this chapter stand out. Holmes-Tagchungdarpa writes of a female Sikkimese Buddhist teacher in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Pelling Ani Wangdzin (pad gling A ni dbang 'dzin) whose lineage is carried on predominantly by Sikkimese women.

The text is dominated by monastic figures. Seventeen chapters out of twenty feature monastic women. Thus, Chapter Fourteen offers a glimpse of another important facet of religious life in the Tibetan cultural region - that of non-monastic religious activity. Wangzin, the central character, founded a female lay lineage in Sikkim. Wangzin traveled alone on pilgrimage throughout the Himalayas and returned to Sikkim. In her teens she began to wear monastic robes (161), though the details of the circumstances of training and ordination are not known. During these travels, she met the Tokden Shakya Shri (rtogs ldan sakya shri 1853-1919), an early twentieth century Tibetan lama who wore the robes of an ordained Vajrayana practitioner (*snags pa*). Holmes-Tagchungdarpa explains that Pelling Ani Wangdzin specialized in teaching *nyungne* (*smyung gnas*), a fasting practice, and inner yoga practices (*rtsa rlung*) (162).

Wangdzin's context illustrates the status of women and ordination in Sikkim in this period:

Despite this relative equality, women are notably absent from religious institutions that help political and spiritual power in Sikkim prior to 1975. There are no records of nunneries earlier than the 1950's, when Tibetan refugees began to arrive from the north, and also no tradition of female monasticism, which explains the ambivalence regarding whether Pelling Ani Wangdzin really was ordained (164).

Holmes-Tagchungdarpa goes on to describe the ratio of female to male monastics in Sikkim - thirty-seven women associated with nunneries in comparison to 3,021 monks (164). She argues that these low numbers are due at least in part to the availability of a Sikkimese lay-religious movement such as that which stemmed from the groups that formed in connection with Wangdzin's activities: "It may well be that nuns are few in Sikkim because of the wide availability of other opportunities for women in the religious sphere" (164).

The study in this fourteenth chapter refers to *mani lhakhang* (*ma ni lha khang*), which are small local groups of women in the lineage of Pelling Ani Wangdzin. They carry out fasting, prayers, and

ritual practices connected to Avalokiteshvara (164). Holmes-Tagchungdarpa argues that this religious practice disrupts cultural gender norms for older women and correlates their presence to a subverting of hegemonic identities:

The contemporary legacy of Pelling Ani Wangdzin in Sikkim is an intriguing study of how traditional forms of religious practice and belonging in tribal India subvert other mainstream hegemonic imaginings of identity and community (165).

This chapter is profitably read alongside previous scholarly work by Vargas-O'Bryan (2001) who has focused on another female monastic, Gelongma Palmo (dge slong ma dpal mo), the founder of the *nyungne* fasting practice, which Vargas-O'Bryan frames as a gendered practice. Holmes-Tagchungdarpa does not analyze the connections between the two, although *nyungne* appears in various chapters and is referenced in the text. This compelling account of the *mani lhakhang* told by Holmes-Tagchungdarpa is another example of how *Eminent Women* provides a thorough introduction and rich starting point for a course exploring major themes of women in Buddhist history.

The final section of the book features two chapters on women in the West. In Chapter Twenty, Rita Gross' essay compares biographies of the eighth century Tibetan princess, Yeshe Tsogyel (*ye shes mtsho rgyal*), and the Nepalese Buddhist female, Orgyen Chökyi (1675-1879) (232). Written in the first person from the perspective of a female Buddhist practitioner, Gross argues for the importance of narratives of ordinary Buddhist women:

...Orgyen Chokyi is a more realistic role model than Yeshe Tsogyel precisely because she is more ordinary and because she suffered the same indignities of a difficult family situation and frustration over the liabilities of the female gender role that many of us suffer. She was ignored for much of her life and struggled for everything she ever achieved, including being able to record her own struggle. For much of her life she was very unhappy, something that resonates with many of us. Nevertheless, Orgyen Chokyi persevered and came to be regarded as someone who had attained Buddhism's goal of liberation from samsara despite all her obstacles. To me, she seems a lot more like I am than does Yeshe Tsogyal, and her very ordinariness is more encouraging to me than Tsogyel's impossibly fortunate circumstances (236).

After discussing issues of female role models and tokenism, Gross does not explicitly address the issues of hagiographical styles versus histories, biographies versus autobiography in Tibetan literature, and so on. However she does illuminate these issues by comparing and contrasting Yeshe Tsogyal and Orgyen Chökyi. This is useful reading to begin a conversation with students on comparing female role models in various types of narratives. In so doing, this chapter highlights the strength of this work as a whole in its offering of diverse formats of Buddhist life stories with assorted modes of presenting and framing those stories.

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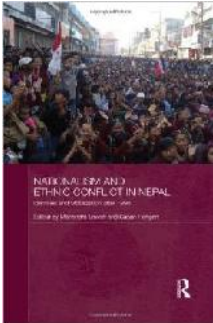
Eminent Buddhist Women offers a varied array of narratives about Buddhist women that helps foster studies of gender issues across diverse Buddhist cultures. In positioning narratives of women from different cultures side by side, a valuable survey of Buddhist activity, politics, and religion is offered, highlighting gender disparities that they share. In providing narratives in a range of voices - from the academic analysis of texts, to translations and commentaries of literature, to the first person accounts of women within the tradition - an accessible text balancing narrative and academic overtones is provided. The subjects themselves provide a diversity of rarely documented female religious activity, enhancing understanding of marginalized, historically invisible people. *Eminent Buddhist Women* is thus an important contribution to the genre of literature on women in Buddhism, underscoring diversity in format, subject, and methodology. It provides a snapshot of a period in the history of the Buddhist women's movement and the diversity of contributors and concerns that inform it.

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REVIEW: THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF ETHNICITY IN NEPAL

Reviewed by Andrew Nelson (University of North Texas)



Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen. 2013. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilization After 1990*. London: Routledge. xvii + 288. Two maps, two charts, and seven tables. ISBN: 10:0415780977; 13:978-0415780971 (hardcover 137.72USD, mobi 89.99USD, mobi rental 45.88USD).

With each political and social transformation of the Nepali state and nation, social scientists have attempted to explain the relationship between nationality and ethnicity in Nepal. If the scholarship of the Panchayat era largely ignored the conceptual debates of ethnicity in favor of studying nationalism (Bista 1991, Burghart 1984) and ethnic conflict (Caplan 1970, Gaige 1975), the subsequent era of multiparty democracy, the so-called "Janajati yug" (Des Chene 1996), theorized ethnicity as a social construction created vis-à-vis the social policies of the state (Fisher 2001, Guneratne 2002, Gellner et al. 1997). In the wake of the 2006 shift from a Hindu monarchy to federal republic, and the ethnic-based demands of the Maoist insurgency and federalism debates of the constituent assembly, ethnicity requires yet another rethinking. Sara Shneiderman has led the way arguing that

acknowledging that ethnicity is inevitably constructed is not the end of the story but the beginning of understanding the ongoing, radically real life of such constructions today for the people who inhabit them (2014:280).

Although ethnicity might indeed be constructed, it has only grown as a social force in twenty-first century Nepal as intellectuals have

Nelson, Andrew. 2016. Review: The Brave New World of Ethnicity in Nepal. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:507-514.

adopted the academic depiction of ethnicity and made it their own (Shneiderman 2014).

Despite its sub-title reference to 1990, the volume under review is better understood as an attempt at deciphering the meaning of ethnicity in Nepal's post-insurgency era. The two articles written prior to 2006, by Krishna Bhattachan and Hangen, each provide prescient glimpses into the logic of ethnicity in contemporary Nepal defined less through impositions of the dominant high caste Hindu state (as the 1990s social construction argument saw it) and more through assertive tactics and mobilizations, what Lawoti and Hangen call "people-centric nationalism" (citing Brubaker 1998).

The second significant shift of this volume is a move away from the earlier emphasis on indigenous nationalities, or Janajati, in favor of highlighting the struggles of other minority groups - Madhesis, Muslims, Dalits - who have increasingly sought and gained public voices and political momentum in the last decade. For instance, in the seminal 1997 edited volume, *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom*, eight of the nine ethnographic chapters were devoted to Janajati groups, only one of which (Tharu) is not geographically located in hills or mountains. In contrast, only one of this volume's five chapters on specific groups covers indigenous nationalities - Hangen's chapter on the Dasain boycotts in the hills of eastern Nepal.

The inclusion of new groups into the discussion of Nepali nationality and ethnicity does not represent a unity of minority groups, however, as Lawoti and Hangen warn in the introduction. An interweaving theme of the chapters is the ways in which historically marginalized groups reproduce exclusion by drawing lines between each other. For instance, Janajati pay little attention to Dalit concerns, just as Madhesis dismiss Tharu demands and Limbu ignore Rajbansi. Although ethnic politics might be deepening and expanding democracy in Nepal, it is not forging a coordinated challenge to the state.

The Maoist insurgency did, of course, challenge the state and built its army heavily on the frustrations of ethnic minorities. Few

people saw this coming in 1995 when Krishna Bhattachan's chapter (Two) 'Ethnopolitics and Ethnodevelopment' was first published. Rather accurately, Bhattachan predicted that the state's refusal to recognize ethnopolitics would lead to insurgency, which indeed occurred the next year with the launching of the Maoist Revolution in 1996. And although the Maoists did not initially embrace ethnicity, Bhattachan (looking back on his previous article in the 2010 written postscript) justifiably points out that the 1998 shift in Maoist focus from class to ethnicity, gender, linguistic, religious, and regional issues planted the seeds of their success with Janajati, Madhesi, Dalits, and women groups.

While successive Nepali governments silenced the politics of ethnic minorities, they privileged other ethnic groups in economic arenas. In arguably the most innovative chapter of the collection, Mallika Shakya (Chapter Three) grounds ethnic inequality in the state's legacy of economic paternalism. For instance, the early Shah state protected Newar traders against foreign traders, namely the East India Company. The Ranas, meanwhile, reversed the Shah protectionism by encouraging Indians, particularly Marwaris, to not only enter, but dominate Nepali trade (with joint-Rana family partnerships, they owned up to one-third of all Nepali businesses) and early industrialization efforts. The supposed "ethnic neutrality" of the successive Panchayat state was anything but, as high caste Bahun-Chhetri became the state's favored entrepreneurs. Despite the liberalization of the Nepali economy in 1992, the exclusive communalism of Nepali business only sustained the domination of the Bahun-Chhetri and Marwari. Finally, the "patriotic capitalism" of the brief Maoist governments attempted to support ownership by the Janajati and other lower castes, but one wonders if the short-lived Maoist control of Singha Durbar made any lasting difference.

Moving from structural to individual cases, Steven Folmar's contribution (Chapter Four) identifies a key problem for the remaining chapters of the book (and for the social science of Nepal): how to categorize Nepali Dalits, a minority without an ethnicity. Since much of the Nepali nationalism debate is framed in terms of

ethnic or identity politics defined by religious, racial, linguistic, cultural, or geographic differences, how do we account for inequality only based on "intrinsic purity"? Since Dalits share language, geography, religion, and "racial" identity with high castes, Folmar argues that:

Dalits occupy the paradoxical position of being a part of a society to which they cannot belong – considered a part of Parbatiya society by outsiders, but not Brahman or sometimes even human by the elite elements within Parbatiya society (92).

As such, "Discrimination occurs in forms subtle enough to give the appearance that it does not happen" (92).

Similar to Dalits, Nepali Muslim identity cannot be reduced to ethnicity. For Nepali Muslims, divided by geography, language, and doctrines, the question becomes how to recognize internal heterogeneity while fostering cohesion as a minority within the larger nation of Nepal. Megan Adamson Sijapati (Chapter Five) suggests that Nepali Muslims develop a "translocal orientation" to both Mecca, the center of their religious identity in the Islamic nation (*quam* or *millat*), and to Nepal, the nation (*muluk*) of their birthplace. In the wake of "Black Wednesday," 2004, when the murders of twelve Nepali laborers in Iraq instigated anti-Muslim violence in Kathmandu, it has become increasingly necessary to forge a pan-Nepali Muslim identity.

Susan Hangen's (Chapter Six) ethnographic account of Dasain boycotts in eastern Nepal marks a distinction not of geography, religion, or ethnicity, but that between activists of the Mongol National Organization (MNO) and the community they represent. She documents how activists construct an "oppositional history" against the hegemonic narratives and state-sponsored rituals of Dasain. Instead of representing the victory of Durga "good" over Mahisasaur "evil," the MNO reinterprets Dasain as a time of mourning for Mahisasaur, the "ancestral father" of all Mongols, and the conquest of Aryans (the Nepal state) over Mongol land and

sovereignty. In practice, however, Hangen depicts an ambivalent reaction to the boycott in which people still ate meat and met with family to celebrate Dasain, but stopped taking *tika* as a form of protest.

Much like what Black Wednesday and Dasain mean for Muslims and non-Hindus, respectively, the Madhes Andolan of winter 2007, has significantly shaped the Madhesi experience in new Nepal. Although the 2007 moment (following the King's abdication, Maoist peace agreement and anti-Madhesi violence) provided the opportunity for Madhesi protests to surface, Bandita Sijapati (Chapter Seven) anchors the uprising historically in the extractive and exclusionary interventions of the Nepali state in the Tarai. She argues that Madhesi identity is forged more in opposition to years of exploitation than from any source of unity. Deprived by the internal colonization of the Tarai by the Rana state, the social alienation of the Panchayat state, and the structural violence of anti-Madhesi citizenship laws and increasing Pahadization of the Tarai since 1991, Madhesi identity is best understood as produced through misrepresentation. The violence of 2007, Sijapati claims, marked an end to the state's neglect of Madhesi demands and a harbinger of future conflict "if there are no transformative changes in its institutions, national narratives and state ideologies" (164).

Building on the chapters on Muslims and Madhesis, Mollica Dastider (Chapter Eight) provides a specific look at Muslim Madhesis who, she argues, refuse to choose between religion and region as the main source of their identity. While they have historically aligned themselves in terms of class with other agricultural workers in the Tarai who were mostly Hindu Madhesis, the rise of Hindu extremism has effectively weakened those inter-religious alliances, particularly in urban centers.

Lawoti's two concluding chapters (Nine and Ten) return the book's attention to comparative analysis in accounting for the presence or lack of ethnic resistance in Nepal, which he measures through movement capability (strikes), extreme faction (armed groups), ethnic party formation, government representation, and

concessions received. In particular, he compares the relative success of Madhesi and Limbu movements versus the lack of success by indigenous nationalities (Janajati) and Dalits. Limbus and Madhesis, he documents, have a long history of anti-Rana mobilization, followed by political movements in the 1950s, which resurfaced in the 1990s. Madhesis are united by a language other than Nepali (Hindi), effective political parties, and a relatively high level of education. He attributes the relative strength of the Linbus to territorial attachment, cultural-linguistic homogeneity, and higher education. Other indigenous nationalities, in contrast, are more disconnected by language and group identity and lack territorial concentration. Finally, Dalits, despite receiving the most discrimination, NGO support, and international attention, are less politically mobilized because of their lack of cultural differences from the dominant group, relatively lower education levels, and lack of territorial concentration and history of mobilization.

In the final chapter, Lawoti points out two ironies of Nepal's brave new world of ethnic politics. First, while the opportunity for ethnic assertion has expanded for historically marginalized groups, traditionally privileged groups (what he calls the CHHE: Caste Hill Hindu Elite) have increasingly organized themselves as ethnic groups and mobilized against ethnic based state formation. In the most extreme case, the Nepal Defense Army represents one such high caste Hindu group that violently targets Muslims and Christians. The second is that is that the 2006 peace agreement unleashed additional ethnic violence and armed conflicts, which have grown further amidst the political uncertainty of Nepal's temporary government of constitution writing.

In spite of the increased violence surrounding social difference, Lawoti is optimistic about the successes of post-2006 Nepal. The constituent assembly is Nepal's most representative government body to date, and the army and judiciary are becoming more inclusive. Furthermore, the state has eliminated or weakened the symbols of CHHE domination. The Hindu state and monarchy are gone, and the upper caste culture of the state is gradually making

room for other voices. Ultimately, Lawoti maintains, Nepal is moving towards a multi-nation state "where in place of one ethnic group's hegemony, more ethnic groups will be recognized and have a voice in how the country is governed" (250-251).

Lawoti and Hangen, along with all of the contributing authors to this volume, must be applauded for producing the first, in what one hopes will be a long line of portraits of the changing dynamics of what it means to be Nepali in post-insurgency Nepal.

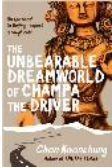
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REVIEW: THE UNBEARABLE DREAMWORLD OF CHAMPA THE DRIVER

Reviewed by Christine Murphy
(University of California, Santa Barbara)



Chan Koonchung. 2014. *The Unbearable Dreamworld of Champa the Driver*. London: Transworld Publishers Ltd., 192 pages. ISBN: 978-0857522078 (paperback, 16.95 USD).

Chan Koonchung's second novel, *The Unbearable Dreamworld of Champa the Driver*, like his first, *The Fat Years* (Chen and Duke 2011), is banned in mainland China for its dystopian and realist depiction of racial discrimination, economic inequality, government corruption, and public dis-ease in contemporary Chinese society. Tracing the adventures of the quintessential anti-hero in the form of Champa, a young Tibetan man from Lhasa on his way to Beijing, a city of wealth, adventure, and opportunity in his mind, Koonchung effectively constructs a depiction of modern youth and masculinity in an economically perilous period, as well as a broader narrative of the difficult relationship between Tibetan and Chinese identity.

The relationship between Champa and Plum, his older, richer, sexually assertive Han Chinese employer serves as an effective representation of the power dynamics between the Tibetan Autonomous Region and China on the political and interpersonal level. In a recent interview in the *Hong Kong Tatler*, Koonchung states that, "I just thought it would be more intriguing to represent Tibetan and China relationships as a sexual relationship – there are certainly more dimensions" (Cheung 2013). Infatuated with her "Champie," demanding of his time and attention, but unwilling to see him as an equal or be seen in public with him among her peers, Plum serves as a representation of the assumed cultural and governmental perspective of the Chinese government towards Tibet and Tibetan culture. Lest this imply the novel is politically and racially biased, Koonchung twists the metaphor to counter the dominant rhetoric of Tibetan narratives, which tend to fall either into romanticism reminiscent of James Hilton's (1933) *Lost Horizon*, or vitriolic polemics vilifying Chinese culture as well as Chinese governmental policy. As Koonchung himself says, "These are the two most powerful stereotypes-the romantic stereotype and the victim stereotype-but if

Murphy, Christine. 2016. Review: The Unbearable Dreamworld of Champa the Driver. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:515-518.

you live among Tibetans for a while you know it's not the only story" (Whitehead 2014).

Plum, as the dominant power in the relationship, is female and stands in stark contrast to the cultural patriarchy of traditional Chinese society. Plum pays Champa for sex, another subversion of assumedly appropriate behavior, but as Champa's sexual interest in her fades while his economic instability remains, he finds himself going to ever increasing lengths to psychologically enable himself to perform sexually for a woman he no longer desires. This seems to thwart the frequently publicized notion of Tibet and consequently, of Tibetans, as wild, romantic, and untamed. Instead, we see a stark, sad depiction of manipulation and financial dependency.

"My protagonist," Koonchung says in a recent interview with *Time Out Beijing*, "is a very modern, young, Chinese-speaking male...I wanted to cut across this stereotyping and write a Tibet story without falling into these traps" (Middlehurst 2015).

However, Champa is not a two dimensional picture of victimhood. If Plum represents the dominant rhetoric of Han Chinese governmental and public opinion, then her daughter, Shell, is modern China's burgeoning middle class and intellectual youth. Just as professors of Religious Studies remind their undergraduates that religion exists in both the textual ideal and the lived reality, so too do Plum and Shell seem to represent both the historical depiction of Chinese identity, as well as the nuanced complications of contemporary Chinese life. Champa is initially swept up in Plum's economic and social influence, literally carried away in her car to Beijing, his personal Shangri La, only to be left disillusioned by her disengagement, obsession with money, and disinterest in him as anything other than a sexual object. In much the same way, his relationship with Shell is multifaceted. As a literal next generation of Plum, rebellious, bohemian Shell is subjected to Champa's sexual obsession and his aggressive, albeit unsuccessful, impulses to control her. One wonders, in this instance, if Champa and Plum, representations of Tibet and Old China, respectively, share a similar intoxication and frustration regarding the complicated New China that Shell so clearly represents. Ultimately, Champa leaves, or is left by, both women, no longer dependent on Plum or fascinated by Shell. His fantasy of life in Beijing stands in direct contrast to the reality of his experiences there, and he returns to Lhasa.

Heavy-handed metaphors aside, the strength of Koonchung's text lies in his ability, at once subtle and horrifying, to interweave fictitious depictions of contemporary political problems into his

narrative. Several passages in the book highlight the difficulties of urban life for a recent immigrant, but the most effective are those depicting the daily struggles of average people as they attempt to build a life for themselves in Beijing's complicated city sprawl. In a particularly moving scene, written to emulate a conversation had only through mobile phones, Champa joins Shell and her NGO as they protest a truck full of stolen dogs, all pets with nametags, which will be sold for meat. In another vignette, when Champa leaves his job at Shell's animal rescue organization to begin work as a security guard, he quickly realizes that he is working at a "black jail," or illegal, but commonplace, detainment center. Used predominantly for housing, without trial, protestors who come to Beijing to petition against governmental injustice, these jails were long denied but, as evinced by recent investigative reports in the *New York Times* and *Caijing*, are very real in modern Beijing.

Similarly, Koonchung effectively weaves allusions to recent Tibetan history throughout the text. An enigmatic hitchhiker explains he has abandoned the pursuit of a conventional life following the 3-14 riots, reminding us of the 2008 tragedy in which the observance of Tibetan Uprising Day turned into multiple instances of looting, rioting, and killing across the Tibet Autonomous Region and beyond. Later, Champa learns of the thousands of Tibetans who were detained and "re-educated" when they attempted to return to China after the 2012 Kalakchakra Initiation of the Dalai Lama in Bodh Gaya, India. He also comments on the six separate checkpoints that exist between the first town of the Tibet Autonomous Region and Lhasa, checkpoints that exist solely to prevent Tibetan residents outside Lhasa from entering the city. Many of these situations may be unknown to a percentage of Koonchung's readers, and it is to his credit that they read as part of the overall narrative. There are further references to historically documented instances of torture, famine, and genocide throughout the text, but these conversations or commentaries are deftly written and never feel like a veiled lecture.

The translation of the original Chinese by Nicky Harman is smooth, effectively incorporating slang and colloquialisms. The novel reads quickly, as a funny, if at times unsteady, travelogue told by a loquacious, salacious friend. The greatest success of the novel, in this reviewer's opinion, is not the depiction of the complexities between Tibet and China as a metaphorical sexual relationship, nor the perpetuation of casual misogyny and gender violence as an accepted facet of youthful masculinity, but rather the accessible representation of the nuanced complexities of contemporary Beijing and Lhasa

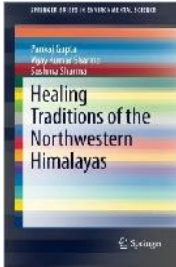
identity. In an academic classroom, younger readers, particularly those in lower-level university courses focusing on the sociology and contemporary politics of the regions, may derive the most enjoyment from the text. Although flawed, *The Unbearable Dreamworld of Champa the Driver* provides readers outside of the Chinese and Tibetan context an opportunity to avoid cliché, and instead observe a realistic depiction of a complicated life.

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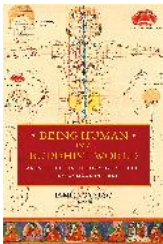
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REVIEW: *HEALING TRADITIONS OF THE NORTHWESTERN HIMALAYAS AND BEING HUMAN IN A BUDDHIST WORLD*

Reviewed by Enrico Beltramini (Notre Dame de Namur University)



Pankaj Gupta, Vijay Kumar Sharma, and Sushma Sharma. 2014. *Healing Traditions of the Northwestern Himalayas*. New Delhi: Springer. xxii + 149. Three figures, fourteen tables, preface, appendix, index. Volume 15, SpringerBrief in Environmental Science. ISBN: 978-8132219248 (hardcover, 51.99EURO).



Janet Gyatso. 2015. *Being Human in a Buddhist World. An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press. xi + 519. Fifty-one illustrations, technical note, abbreviations, index. ISBN: 978-0231164962 (hardcover, 45USD).

These two contributions address the important topics of Himalayan and Tibetan medicine. Gupta et al. is a book of science, primarily focused on the knowledge about, and the therapeutic effects of, plants and plant products in Himachal Himalaya, India. Gyatso's work is an intellectual history of the mutual influence of healing knowledge and Buddhism in early modern Tibet. Both books ask a crucial question: What is medicine in a Himalayan and Tibetan landscape? While both texts also contextualize medicine in a broader scenario, considering medicine as a non-Western tradition, Gupta et al. understand Himalayan medicine as an insular system, while Gyatso sees parallels between Tibetan and Western medical traditions, particularly in the relationship between the religious and the empirical.

Beltramini, Enrico. 2016. Review: *Healing Traditions of the Northwestern Himalayas and Being Human in a Buddhist World*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:519-525.

Healing Traditions of the Northwestern Himalayas, begins with a Voltaire quote: "The art of medicine consists of keeping the patient amused while nature heals the disease" (xix). From his vantage point of Enlightenment, Voltaire looked sarcastically at the so-called "art of medicine" (the French source would probably be better translated with "physician," so "the art of the physician") and talked consistently about its deplorable condition. Voltaire argued the point that medicine was far from being a science, or more accurately, he considered it an art and not a proper science. As an art, medicine was ineffective if not dangerous to the patient, and practicing physicians would do better to demonstrate qualities of empathy and compassion, to entertain the patient, and to avoid the cure, hoping that nature would heal the disease. For Voltaire, then, medicine was ineffective because it was not scientific enough. Although this statement may have been wholly true in the eighteenth century, today medicine is considered an applied science and it is debatable whether Voltaire would maintain such a statement.

Gupta and his co-authors, however, seem to aim for a different interpretation, that is, that humans seem to have forgotten that nature heals the disease. Humans rely so much on the effectiveness of science that they are ready to disengage from the so-called non-scientific remedies of natural and alternative medicine. The traditional knowledge of medicine that the indigenous Himalayan population has developed over the centuries is rapidly eroding under the expansion of scientific medicine; traditional medicine now lacks credibility to be recognized on par with scientific medicine. While the forces of modern medicine make inroads and cause the decline of traditional medicine, the whole system of knowledge that is embedded in traditional medicine - environmental concerns, social practices, religious wisdom - is at risk of disappearing.

Readers may recognize here the familiar narrative of modernization vs. tradition, West vs. East, external influences vs. organic connections. While acknowledging the challenge that modern medicine poses to traditional medicine, the authors make a strong case in favor of the latter. They argue for a noble effort to preserve its

knowledge. Indigenous knowledge based on thousands of years of tradition and records of popular healing should be preserved despite new developments and progress in the field of scientific medicine.

The authors work at Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, India. Sushma Sharma is Professor of Biosciences in the Department of Bio-sciences, Pankaj Gupta is senior researcher officer with a doctorate in Biosciences, and Vijay Kumar Sharma is a project officer at the Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies. Their book continues a recent trend of well-researched academic papers and books on medicinal plants in Indian Himalaya and both sociologists and bioscientists will find it worthwhile. Sociologists will learn about the social aspects of healing practice and knowledge and bioscientists about the medical aspects.

The book consists of a Preface, Prologue, Epilogue, Appendix, and six chapters. Core material is presented in chapters Five and Six, which target traditional herbal medicines. The previous four chapters investigate the traditional knowledge that sustains and empowers healing practices. These chapters are not simply a preamble to the following chapters on herbal medicines, but are essential to the main narrative, as the authors maintain an ecological perspective, in which the relation between knowledge and plants resembles the "oyster working on a pearl" sequence. From this ecological perspective, the authors stress the interdependence between knowledge and plants, for the plant's value resides not in its own intrinsic therapeutic properties, but in the immensity of the knowledge that has been built around it.

In the Prologue, the authors introduce the Himalayan healing tradition as an indigenous complex system of medicine with no discernible influence from the Western sciences. Authors define "medicine" as folk medicine, a formalized healing tradition incorporating heterodox practices such as chiropractic, naturopathy, and osteopathy. It follows the emergence of a unique and effective healing knowledge that is open to absorb components from other practices and that is organically linked to other aspects of indigenous knowledge. Healing is not a function and knowledge is not a science.

Instead, the diverse therapeutic procedures followed by healers are integrated in the socio-cultural life of Himalayan communities.

Chapters One through Four are short in length and cover a wide range of issues. Entitled "The Bountiful Himalaya", Chapter One introduces terms and concepts, in particular the relation between community, healing, and knowledge systems. Chapter Two, 'Health and Folk Medicine', is a quick tour de force on healing systems, their definition and categorization, the lesser known traditions, and recent research studies on healing traditions in the Himalayan region. Chapter Three, entitled 'Ethnic Food as Medicament', explores the fascinating notion of food as medicament. Chapter Four, 'Mystic Healers', examines the intersection between Buddhist metaphysics and secular medicine, and investigates notions such as healing in authoritative scriptures and holiness and belief healing.

Chapters Five and Six are dedicated respectively to 'Traditional Herbalists' and 'Indigenous *Materia Medica*'. The former focuses on the ethno-botanical aspects of medicinal plants and the traditional selection and processing of herbs. Moreover, the chapter addresses the distinct therapeutic procedures followed by Himalayan healers and their significance in the socio-cultural life of the Himachal Himalayas (the section of the vast Himalaya mountain system in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh) society.

Chapter Six is a short assessment of the material used by folk herbalists, including medicinal plants, animals, and minerals. An Epilogue and three appendices conclude the work.

An intellectual historian, and Hershey Professor of Buddhist Studies at Harvard University, Janet Gyatso serves on the faculty of the Divinity School. Her writing has centered on intellectual resources for the understanding of Buddhist and Tibetan history. Her new book, *Being Human in a Buddhist World*, opens with a sequence of gorgeous medical illustrations in early modern Tibet. This serves as a gateway to the complex, sometime counter-intuitive relationship between Buddhism and medicine in Tibet, particularly from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Illustrations during the period of

the Fifth Dalai Lama (seventeenth century) and his regent, Desi Sangye Gyatso, show the long history of interaction and mutual influence in Tibetan medicine between the knowledge of the body and professional medical ethics on one side and religious values and sensibilities about the Human on the other. The book is thus a contemporary investigation of Buddhism's role in the development of Tibetan medicine and of the establishment of an empirical tradition that became independent from scriptural authority.

The main idea behind *Being Human* is precisely that Tibetan medicine as a science maintained a nuanced relationship with Buddhism, absorbing the epistemological while rejecting the ontological. Or, as a non-Western discipline, Tibetan medicine operated to some degree as a Western science, that is, it absorbed ethical and epistemological categories from the religious while maintaining a disciplined concern for the empirical and the imperfectability of the human condition. Gyatso sees this dialogue between scriptural authority and empirical authority on the nature of human anatomy as capable of enriching both without diminishing the distance between the two. She understands that Tibetan medicine and Buddhism influence each other while maintaining key differences in attitude toward gender and sex, the status of human nature, and the moral character of the physician.

In short, Gyatso attempts to reshape the classic idea that Buddhism permeated every aspect of Tibetan society, including medicine and that, as a consequence, tantric anatomy coincided with medical anatomy. Not so, the author argues, although her strategy is to explore both the disjunctions and conjunctions between the tantric literature of the human and the medical system of the body.

In fact, readers will realize from her book that two basic approaches dominated the Tibetan literature. The first approach posits the tantric system as essentially a different (superior) order than Tibetan medical system, and the second tries to reconcile the two systems. The two approaches coexisted in the early modern Tibetan era.

The book is divided into an Introduction; Parts I, II, and III; and a Conclusion. The Introduction is mostly dedicated to a literature

review and to methodological concerns, including the author's decision to move backward in time rather than forward in order to orient the reader to the complexity of the intersection between "Buddhist revelation with [Tibetan] scientific investigation in medicine" (13). The time of the Fifth Dalai Lama encapsulates well the larger historiographical question of the intersection of early modern sensibilities and religious ideals and absolutes that lie at the core of the book.

Part I, consisting of two chapters, locates the story in Lhasa, and builds the historical background. Chapter One, titled 'Reading Paintings, Painting the Medical, Medicalizing the State', examines the expansion of medicine in the Tibetan state in the sixteen century. Chapter Two, 'Anatomy of an Attitude: Medicine Comes of Age', deals with the emergence of anatomy as an attitude in the same age. Part II, titled 'Bones of Contention', addresses Tibetan Buddhist anatomy and how a "Tantric body" coexisted with a "medical body" - the body that is to be treated with medical practice.

Part II consists of three chapters and an addendum. Chapter Three, 'The Word of the Buddha', maps the history of the articulated relation between religious and secular medical knowledge. Chapter Four, titled 'The Evidence of the Body, Medical Channels, Tantric Knowledge', focuses on that relation from the Tantric perspective. This chapter includes several stories. For example, Gyatso describes the case of Darmo Menrampa Losang Chödrag, who worked in the field of medicine. He studied Tibetan texts, completed medical treatises, taught at one of the medical schools, and was allowed to perform surgery on the fifth Dalai Lama. In 1670, he gathered his students and dissected the corpses of four male and female Tibetans of varying age in a Lhasa park. Chödrag found 365 bones in the body, five more than the accepted number in medical literature (193).

Titled 'Tangled Up in System: The Heart, in the Text and in the Hand', Chapter Five continues the story of the relation of Tantric and Tibetan medical knowledge, focusing specifically on the anatomical study of heart. The addendum, 'Coda: Influence, Rhetoric, and Riding Two Horses at Once', serves as a brief summary of the issues addressed in Part II.

Part III shifts the focus from practice to practitioners. It consists of two chapters. Chapter Six, titled 'Women and Gender', explores key differences between Tibetan medicine and Tantric anatomy with regard to gender and sex. Chapter Seven, 'The Ethics of Being Human: The Doctor's Formation in a Material Realm', examines the shaping of medical ethics to serve the physician and eventually the patient, too.

The Conclusion summarizes the main outputs of the book. It also provides a synthetic overview of the issues to investigate in order to reach a more definite understanding of medicine knowledge and practice in Tibet.

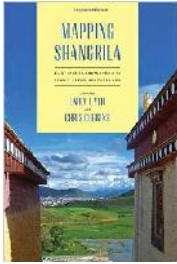
Through her unique focus and sophisticated reading of source materials, Gyatso reveals the medical knowledge of Tibet during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama and thus helps redefine the encounter of Buddhism and science in the larger context of Tibetan culture. Any scholar interested in the history of Tibetan medicine or seeking to learn more about intellectual encounters between Buddhism and science in Tibetan history would find the book worth reading.

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REVIEW: MAPPING SHANGRILA

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Emily T Yeh and Chris Coggins (eds). 2014. *Mapping Shangrila. Contested Landscapes in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. 332. Foreword, introduction, afterword, maps (10+15), 12 black & white plates, bibliography, index ISBN 9780295993584 (hardcover 75USD), 0295993588 (paperback 39USD).

Emily Yeh and Chris Coggins have gathered a collection of ten articles published under what appears as a very contradictory title: *Mapping Shangrila. Contested Landscapes in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands*. Since Peter Bishop's *The Myth of Shangri la* (1989) and Donald Lopez's *Prisoners of Shangri la* (1998), several books have appeared on Tibet and its relation with the mythical realm created by James Hilton (1900-1954). Meanwhile, Tibetans and Chinese officials in Yunnan have succeeded in establishing Hilton's imaginary place on earth in a real place, populated by real people. In 2002, the city of Gyalthang (Rgyal thang; Ch, Zhongdian), was renamed Shangrila, or Xiangelila as it is rendered in Chinese language. The Shangrila of this book covers a geographic area much larger than Rgyal thang and its surroundings, however. It deals with what the editors qualify as the "Sino-Tibetan Borderlands": places in Kham and Amdo that are undertaking a similar process of "Shangrilazation."

The authors of the articles, mainly anthropologists and geographers, are joined by two conservation scientists who were involved in the work of an NGO "during its formative years in China" (130). To these ten articles, lengthy scholarly introductions by the editors are added at the beginning of each of the three sections, along with a foreword by Stevan Harrell, and an afterword by Ralph

Litzinger. While regretting the absence of a discussion about the definition of the term "Sino-Tibetan Borderlands," each part's introduction brings a wealth of information and adds considerable value to the book.

The first part of the work (19-94) is composed of three chapters and addresses "several modalities of the shangrilazation process" (23). Li-hua Ying explores the process of shangrilazation through analysis of a selection of Chinese and Tibetan novels written in Chinese. She shows that in contrast to the time of authors such as Xu Xiahe (1586-1641) who spent two years in Yunnan, or Yu Qingyuan (1644-1911) who spent a year in Weixi, "an administrative entity that covered present day Weixi, Deqin [Chinese nomenclature is used for Tibetan Territories] Dechen, Tib. Bde chen) and two other counties in Yunnan" (27) and for whom these lands were "outside civilization" (27), these spaces are now "opened up for new modes of inquiry and identity formation" (28). Contemporary authors such as the Manchu Wen Pulin or the Han author Fan Wen (2013) "focus on the individual self and on presenting a harmonious multiethnic society" (29), depicting the Tibetan borderlands as exotic locations where you can escape from the modern world (39). But for local writers who write mainly in Chinese in a journal called *Return* or famous Sinophone Tibetan writers such as Alai, the true Tibet is still found in the past.

Chris Vasantkumar studies shangrilazation in Labrang through two recent publications sanctioned by the county and prefectural governments and directed at Western and Chinese tourists. One account describes Labrang "as a repository of timeless Tibetan culture" (61), a place that can be an alternative to famous sites in Central Tibet, while the other work also incorporates sites related to imperial and Communist history. The author highlights the importance of the process of miniaturization and the creation of many theme-parks in which "the elision of particular (uncomfortable) ethnic details has been key to Shangrilazation as a miniaturizing method" (59). Here the author might have profitably referenced to

RA Stein (1990) on worlds in miniature, container gardens, and dwellings in Far Eastern religious thought.

The last article of this first part, by Travis Klingberg, deals with the Yading Nature Reserve, which attracts, after difficult beginnings, tens of thousands of visitors thanks to the transformation of this area into a Reserve and its 2003 inclusion into the Greater Shangrila Ecotourism Zone. The legacy of Joseph Rock (1884-1962), said to have discovered the place, is not forgotten and allows a direct connection to the Shangrila story. The author shows how two Han Chinese - a botanist and a photographer - have played a large role in the construction of this place as a touristic one and underscores the role of tourists in the production of these landscapes.

Part II (95-198) deals with "Constructing the Ecological State: Conservation, Commodification and Resource Governance" and is composed of four articles. The first by John Zinda deals with all the actors involved in the 2007 creation of Pudacuo National Park, China's first national park. The making of national parks was encouraged by an NGO, Nature Conservancy (TNC), which wanted the government to "adopt new models for conserving the area's biodiverse landscapes" (105).

The author points out the various conflicts between state agencies and governments at different levels in the construction of the ecological state. The commercial success of Pudacuo National Park led to the opening of two more parks in Diqing Prefecture (Tib Bde chen). Zinda shows also how the growth of tourism changed the stakes. While the local communities received the majority of benefits in the 1990s, with the advent of the national parks, the local governments became more sensitive to the income they could draw from tourist attractions than to the residents' interests.

RK Moseley and RB Mullen, drawing on their experience as conservation scientists who worked for the group "during its formative years in China" (130) give an insider perspective on TNC. They present the history of the development of TNC in China; its goals, policy, and weaknesses; and also the criticism that confronted the NGO.

MJ Hathaway's article concerns the matsutake (a mushroom highly valued in Japan) economy in Yunnan, its development, and its consequences. These consequences are negative (intervillage conflict) but also positive, for example, a resurgence in the construction of Tibetan houses with indigeneous artistic and architectural features expressing new forms of cultural identity and wealth. The author insists on the need to "explore how management policies and activities are affected by other states and a range of private and private-public engagements, including international conservation organizations, networks of traders and scientists" (154). He also demonstrates how the trade has forced the different actors involved to take into account the socio-ecological problems, including those arising from the use of pesticides, in order to compete with imported mushrooms.

The economic results of the collection of *yartsa gumbu* (*dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu*, the famous 'caterpillar fungus' mushroom) in two regions of Diqing Prefecture are discussed by MO Steward. In spite of growing tourism, caterpillar fungus harvesting is still the most important source of income for the majority of rural and pastoral Tibetans. Steward highlights the differences in harvest management between these two places, one of which exercises strict control on the collection of the fungus while the villagers of the other area, trapped by new interests and new power relations, have lost control over their caterpillar fungus resources.

Mapping Shangrila's third part (199-278) addresses issues of landscape contestation and is composed of three articles. The first is a collaboration between the geographer Chris Coggins and a local Tibetan, Gesang Zeren, involved in the protection of the environment and the culture of his village, Hamugu. He is representative of a number of Tibetans who, as soon as it was legally and politically possible, became committed to the protection of culture and ecology "because they are inseparable" (222). While Hamugu Village is engaged in the protection of traditional culture, three neighboring villages had chosen to enter the tourist industry by leasing their lands for the construction of a cable car that carries visitors to a local

sacred mountain. In terms of income, the three villages are the winners, but winners at the expense of respect for traditional beliefs.

Here, as the bibliography indicates, the authors suffer from a lack of familiarity with academic literature surrounding sacred mountains, on which a considerable body of work now exists. Peter Schwieger's work on the history of Dechen (Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (2011, forthcoming) is another notable absentee from the Bibliography. As my fieldwork on several sacred mountains, among them Kawakarpo, has highlighted, this mountain is not simply a *neri* (*gnas ri*) site, but one where the concepts of the *gnas ri* (Buddhist ruling deity) and that of the *yul lha* or *gzhi bdag* (local deity') overlap. It is true that mountains associated with *zhidag* or *yullha* can be classified as male or female, but I have not previously encountered the idea that they may be classified as monks or nuns (218). Lastly, it is regrettable that the author does not specify the distinction between *yul lha* and *gzhi bdag* when he writes (220) that, "in Nedu Village...there are four *zhidag* and twenty-four *yullha*." My fieldwork led me to think that these two terms are applied to the same concept according to the area.

The second article by Charlene Makley discusses the reemergence of the cult of *zhidak* among Tibetans in Amdo Rebong despite the efforts of the state to discourage them because of their so-called backwardness and the role of the *lawa* 'spirit-medium' (*lha ba* on whom the mountain-god "descends"). She describes the conflicts over deity recognition and shows the implications of these contestations over the authenticity of Tibetan spirit-mediums following the state-led development accompanying the Great Western Development. The author shows how "mountain deity practices have always played out in tensions between collective ideals and the competing interests of households and individuals" (243) and that all these tensions increase due to the politics of development.

The last article of this section, written by Emily T Yeh, one of the two editors of the book, deals with the formation of a movement in which Tibetan and Chinese environmentalists worked together in order to preserve the environment through strategies centered on

respect for Tibetan culture. The author highlights the differences between the approaches of exile "Green Tibetans" and the "Green Tibetans" in Tibet, pointing out through the example of Rinchen Samdrup (Rin chen bsam grub) and his NGO in Tibet "how concern for a local place and its territorial deities were reworked and represented as concern for the world's environment" (277). But following the 2008 events, the Chinese Government banned foreign financing of such NGOs, putting an end to the work of many such groups and leaving the situation of Tibetans even more precarious than before. Not only was Rinchen Samdrup arrested along with his brother Chime ('Chi med), but the official media explanation of the issues led "the Chinese public at large [to] become less willing to trust Tibetans or believe in the positive potential of Tibetan culture" (276).

Lastly, in a short but incisive afterword, Ralph Litzinger deals with the afterlives of Shangrila, among them a Shangrila which "is no longer singularly a Western fantasy" (280). Building on his own fieldwork, he contests Coggins and Yeh's optimistic vision which saw many signs of hope between 1990 and 2008 and the end of that hope only after the 2008 uprising. For Litzinger, the situation began to deteriorate long before that.

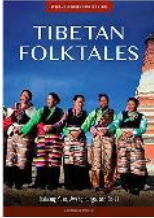
Mapping Shangrila deals with literature, political ecology, conservation, tourism, mountain deities, the changing role of spirit mediums, and so on in the peripheral areas of Amdo and Kham. Because of that, this book will be of interest not only for experts and scholars, but also for students (undergraduate and graduate). As in all books of collected articles, some papers are stronger than others, however, the wealth of information presented makes it an essential contribution to the knowledge of what is happening at the present time in these regions.

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REVIEW: TIBETAN FOLKTALES (WORLD FOLKLORE SERIES)

Reviewed by: Christine Murphy
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Haiwang Yuan, Awang Kunga, and Bo Li. 2014. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC. 202. ISBN: 9781610694704 (hardcover, 38USD)

Tibetan Folktales brings a welcome addition to the well-respected *World Folklore Series*, published by Libraries Unlimited, an imprint of ABC-CLIO LLC. The primary author, Haiwang Yuan, Professor of Library Public Services at Western Kentucky University, has also written two other texts in the series, *The Magic Lotus Lantern and Other Tales from the Han Chinese*, and *Princess Peacock: Tales from the Other Peoples of China*, winner of the 2009 Aesop Accolade Award for the Children's Section of the American Folklore Society.

Yuan divides his translation into three parts. The first, an introductory overview, includes photographs and explanations of traditional Tibetan clothing, architecture, calendars, festivals, and other cultural elements. These brief commentaries, each one to two pages in length, are written in a comfortable, accessible style. Yuan offers suggestions for further reading at the end of each commentary, as well as a selection of black and white photos to accompany his descriptions.

The second section focuses on traditional Tibetan food, crafts, and games for children. Including recipes for butter tea, tsampa, and traditional noodle soup, it succeeds as a fun, practical approach to bring elements of Tibetan culture into Western homes. Explanations for children's sports and artistic activities, such as making dolls and necklaces, provide opportunities for primary school teachers or parents to incorporate enjoyable cultural exploration into their classrooms or homes.

The third section, comprising the majority of the book, contains thirty individual folktales gathered and translated by the authors across the Tibet Autonomous Region and beyond. The authors acknowledge the challenge of choosing stories from the extraordinary breadth of the Tibetan literary canon. In the Tibetan context, folktales are found in fictional narratives, religious documents, historical texts, and hagiographies, in addition to the

Murphy, Christine. 2016. Review: Tibetan Folktales (World Folklore Series). *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 40:535-537.

extensive oral tradition. Given this seemingly impossible task, the authors have succeeded in choosing a wide variety of folktales, incorporating tragic love stories, ghost stories, fables, and epics that offer the casual reader a light and enjoyable introduction to Tibetan genres, and cultural representations. The authors also omit the use of standard Wylie transliteration, and instead choose simplified Romanizations of proper nouns for reader accessibility, although the dialect on which the Romanization is based is not specified.

The folktales are divided into seven sections: origins, animals, heroes, magic, places, romance, and morality. Sketches and simple drawings are scattered throughout the pages. Including well-known classics, such as the creation myth of the monkey and the ogress, as well as a summary of the King Gesar epic, the authors also include some little known stories which will delight and amuse even seasoned Tibetologists. Sometimes funny, sometimes sad, the selection is diverse enough to entertain most interests.

Limited to 200 pages, the book does not have the opportunity to extend beyond a cursory introduction to Tibetan culture and traditions, or to include more than a sampling of Tibetan folktales; however, it does not purport to. The brief treatment of twentieth century history in Tibet, in particular the ongoing Chinese-Tibetan conflict, may raise eyebrows. Given the aim of the book as a cursory introduction to Tibetan culture for children and interested adults, some may argue that this can be omitted.

Another potential criticism of the text lies in the choice of source material for the folktales. Yuan seems to have chosen the stories from solely Chinese-language publications. Many of the stories come from the *Dictionary of Chinese Folk Literature*. There are minimal references to ethnographic data collection, though Yuan expresses gratitude to several friends for helping him with research trips to Lhasa and the Tibet Autonomous Region in the Acknowledgement section of the book. This discrepancy may leave one wondering about the prudence of this choice. Without such references, the extent to which the chosen folktales remain in popular circulation remains in question. One could extend this dilemma further by questioning the accuracy with which the original Tibetan folktales were recorded and reproduced in Chinese, particularly when the political difficulties in the area are taken into account.

The strength of the book lies in its accessible, friendly prose, attractive drawings and photos, and diverse selection of brief folktales from the Tibetan Plateau. *Tibetan Folktales* is an excellent

addition to a children's library, and as a resource for individuals interested in an introduction to multiple aspects of Tibetan culture.

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¹ Given as cited.